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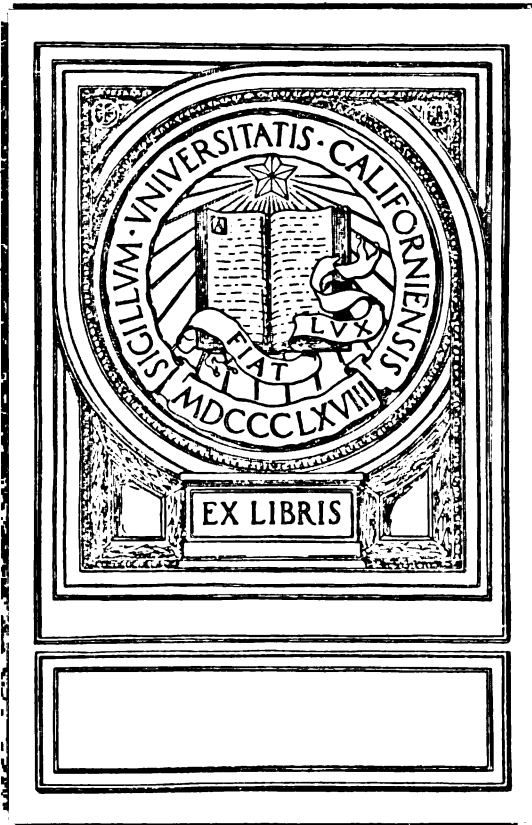
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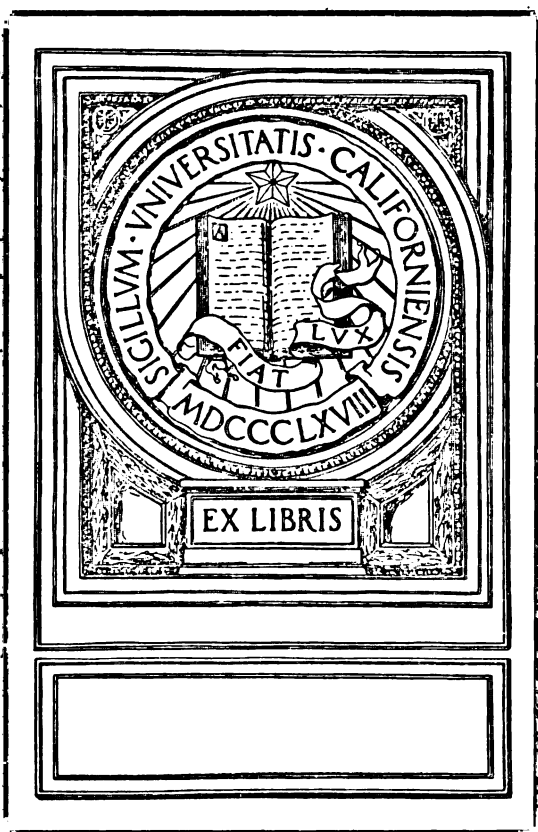
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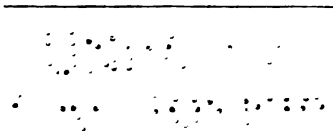


COLLECTIONS

OF THE

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOLUME I.



HARTFORD:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1860.

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CONTENTS.

CONTENTS,	Page. iii.
CHARTERS,	v.
BY-LAWS,	ix.
LIST OF OFFICERS FOR THE YEAR 1859-60,	xiii.

I. REV. THOMAS HOOKER'S LETTER TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP, 1638,	1
II. ABSTRACTS OF TWO SERMONS BY REV. THOMAS HOOKER, IN THE YEARS 1638, 1639,	19
III. TRIAL OF EZEKIEL CHEEVER BEFORE NEW HAVEN CHURCH, 1649,	22
IV. LETTER FROM GOVERNOR WINTHROP RESPECTING THE CHARTER OF CONNECTICUT, 1662,	52
V. THE PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO ELECTION, BY GERSHOM BULKELEY, 1689,	57
VI. THEIR MAJESTIES COLONY OF CONNECTICUT VINDICATED, 1694, ...	83
VII. ROGER WOLCOTT'S JOURNAL AT THE SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG, 1745,	131
VIII. CONNECTICUT OFFICERS AT LOUISBOURG,	161
IX. PAPERS RELATING TO THE TICONDEROGA EXPEDITION, 1775,	163
X. MAJOR FRENCH'S JOURNAL, 1776,	189
XI. COLONEL DANIEL PUTNAM'S LETTER RELATIVE TO THE BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL, 1825,	227
XII. THE PUBLIC SEAL OF CONNECTICUT, BY C. J. HOADLY,	251
XIII. CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, 1755-1758,	257

ACT OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
INCORPORATING THE
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

PASSED MAY SESSION 1825.

UPON the petition of John Trumbull and others, shewing that in other States, societies have been formed for the purpose of collecting records and other documents connected with the early settlement of our country, and praying for an act of incorporation for the purpose of discovering, procuring and preserving whatever may relate to the civil, ecclesiastical and natural history of the United States, and especially of the State of Connecticut:—

Resolved by this Assembly, That John Trumbull, Thomas C. Brownell, Timothy Pitkin, John S. Peters, William W. Ellsworth, Thomas Day, Thomas Robbins, Daniel Burhans, Thomas Hubbard, Isaac Toucey, Nathaniel S. Wheaton, George Sumner, Roger M. Sherman, William T. Williams, Martin Wells, Joseph Battell, William Cooley, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Thomas S. Williams, Eli Todd, Walter Mitchell, George W. Doane, Samuel B. Woodward, S. H. Huntington, Samuel W. Dana, James Gould, Samuel A. Foot, Nathan Johnson, Hawley Olmstead, Benjamin Trumbull, John Hall, and their associates and successors, be and hereby are ordained, constituted, and declared to be, forever hereafter, a body corporate, by the name of "*The Connecticut Historical Society*," and by that name they, their associates and successors, shall and may have perpetual succession; shall be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, and also to purchase, receive, hold, and convey any estate, real or personal, to an amount not exceeding thirty thousand dollars; and may have a common seal, and the same may alter at pleasure; may establish rules relative to the admission of future members; may ordain, establish, and put in execution such by-laws and regulations, not contrary to the provisions of this charter, or the laws of this State, as shall be deemed necessary for the government of said corporation.

And be it further resolved, That the Governor of this State, the Lieutenant Governor, and the Judges of the Superior Court, shall be ex-officio members of the society.

And be it further resolved, That said corporation shall meet once a year for the choice of a President, Vice-President, Corresponding Secretary, Recording Secretary, Treasurer, and such other officers as may be designated, from time to time, by the by-laws of the society.

And be it further resolved, That the first meeting of the society shall be holden at the State House in Hartford, at such time as shall be designated by the Honorable John Trumbull, notice thereof being previously given in one or more newspapers printed in Hartford.

Provided, Nevertheless, that this act of incorporation shall be subject to be revoked or altered, at the pleasure of the General Assembly.

ACT RENEWING THE CHARTER, PASSED MAY SESSION 1839.

Whereas, John Trumbull and others, at the session of this Assembly, held at Hartford, on the first Wednesday of May, 1825, were incorporated, by the name of the Connecticut Historical Society, for the purpose of discovering, procuring, and preserving materials for the civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history of the United States, and especially of the State of Connecticut: And whereas, it was provided, by the act of incorporation, that said corporation should meet once a year, for the choice of a president, vice-president, corresponding secretary, recording secretary, treasurer, and such other officers as might be designated, from time to time, by the by-laws of the society: And whereas, the persons so incorporated met in the month of May, 1825, and accepted said act of incorporation, and elected the officers mentioned therein, who entered upon the duties assigned them respectively; but since the year 1825 there has been no election of officers in said society, and it is now a matter of doubt whether the charter of said society is not forfeited by non-user; and, if otherwise, it is difficult to ascertain who are now members: And whereas, some valuable historical materials were collected by said society, while it was in operation, which have been thus far preserved, but which are in danger of being scattered and lost, without the care of this or some similar institution: And whereas, the objects of said society are important and worthy of legislative protection and encouragement: it is therefore

Resolved and declared by this Assembly, That the existence of said society as a body corporate, with the powers and privileges

originally granted thereto, be continued and perpetuated, as though its officers had been chosen annually since 1825.

Resolved further, That Thomas C. Brownell, John S. Peters, William W. Ellsworth, Thomas Day, Thomas Robbins, Isaac Toucey, George Sumner, Roger M. Sherman, William T. Williams, Martin Wells, Thomas H. Gallaudet, Walter Mitchell, Samuel H. Huntington, Nathan Johnson, Hawley Olinstead, David S. Boardman, Charles Hosmer, Epaphroditus C. Bacon, Erastus Smith, George R. Bulkley, Edward C. Herick, Noah Porter, Jr., James L. Kingsley, Leonard Bacon, Nathaniel Goodwin, Charles Davies, Royal R. Hinman, John A. Rockwell, Thomas R. Butler, L. P. Waldo, Andrew T. Judson, Henry Barnard, 2d., Elkanah H. Hodges, shall be deemed the present members of said society, and shall continue such, subject to the regulations and by-laws of said society: Provided, that the payment of three dollars, as an admission fee, for the benefit of the society, shall be an essential qualification of membership; and no person, who has not already paid such fee, shall hereafter be deemed a member, until such payment is made.

Resolved further, That Thomas Day be empowered to call the next meeting of said society, for the choice of officers, and the transaction of other business, at such place in the city of Hartford, and at such time, as he may designate for that purpose, giving previous notice thereof in one or more newspapers printed in said city:

Provided, nevertheless, that these resolves, as well as the original act of incorporation, shall be subject to be revoked or altered at the pleasure of the General Assembly.

BY-LAWS.

[ADOPTED, MARCH 6TH, 1860.]

I. MEMBERS.

1. THE Society shall consist of Resident, Corresponding, and Honorary Members.

Resident members shall be persons residing in the State of Connecticut; and no others shall be entitled to vote in any meeting of the Society.

Honorary and corresponding members shall be persons residing out of the State of Connecticut; and shall not be subject to any admission-fee or tax.

Honorary members shall be persons who may have rendered important public service to the State of Connecticut, or to the cause of historic inquiry, or literature generally.

2. No person shall be voted for as an honorary, corresponding, or resident member, until at least one month after his nomination by the Committee on Membership; and every such vote shall be taken by ballot, at a regular meeting, at which not less than ten members are present.

3. Every nomination for the election of honorary or corresponding members shall be based on the application, in writing, of two resident members, stating the reasons for such nomination, and the qualifications of the persons proposed for membership.

4. Whenever a vote shall be taken on the admission of a member, and there shall be found two ballots against his admission, the presiding officer shall declare the election postponed. At the next regular meeting, if the recommendation of the Committee shall be renewed, he may be admitted by the votes of two-thirds the members present.

5. Resident members shall pay, on admission, three dollars, and two dollars every subsequent year, if they reside within, and one dollar, if they reside without, the limits of the town of Hartford; or, in lieu thereof, any person entitled to be a member, may constitute himself a life member by paying, at one time, the sum of twenty-five dollars.

6. Should any person, elected as a resident member, omit to signify his acceptance of such election, within one month after receiving notice thereof, and to pay the admission-fee, he shall forfeit the privilege of becoming a member. The payment of the annual assessment shall hereafter constitute a condition of continued

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membership, and the neglect or refusal to pay the same, for the period of six months after the annual meeting of the Society, shall be deemed a withdrawal from the Society.

7. A copy of the by-laws shall be presented, within one month after the adoption of this by-law, by the Recording Secretary, to every resident member, to be signed and returned to the Secretary; and members who shall subscribe the same, shall thereafter be considered as accepting the provision respecting the annual assessment and the conditions of membership.

II. OFFICERS.

1. The Officers of the Society, to be elected at the annual meeting by ballot, and to hold their offices for one year and until others shall be chosen, shall be—A President, eight Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer, a Committee on Membership, to consist of seven members, Committees on the Library, on Lectures, on Exchanges, and of Publication, each to consist of three members.

A Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall be appointed, on the nomination of the Standing Committee, whenever such appointment shall be deemed advisable.

The preceding officers and the chairman of the several committees shall constitute the Standing Committee of the Society.

2. The President shall be, *ex-officio*, chairman of the Standing Committee; shall preside at all meetings of the Society and Standing Committee; call, by himself or Secretary, all meetings of the Society, and deliver or provide for an address at the annual meeting.

3. The Recording Secretary shall have custody of the files, records, and seal of the Society; shall give notice to new members of their election, and furnish them certificates of membership; keep an accurate journal of the transactions of the Society and Standing Committee; and, when directed by the proper officer, call meetings of the same.

4. The Corresponding Secretary shall conduct the correspondence, in behalf of the Society.

5. The Treasurer shall receive the admission-fees, and report the names of the persons paying the same, to the Recording Secretary; and shall also receive all other moneys due, and all donations or bequests of money made to the Society; shall pay, to the order of the Chairman of the Standing Committee, such sums as may be required for the ordinary expenses of the Society, and such as the Society may otherwise direct to be paid; shall keep a true and faithful account of all moneys received and paid by him, and of the property and debts of the Society; and shall, at the annual meeting, render a particular statement, to be examined and audited by

a committee who shall be appointed at such annual meeting for that purpose.

6. The Librarian, under the direction of the Library Committee, shall arrange and have charge of all books, pamphlets, manuscripts, and other articles deposited in the rooms of the Society; and shall, before every annual meeting of the Society, make a full report to the Library Committee of his doings as Librarian during the past year, and of the condition of the Library.

7. To the Committee on Membership shall be referred all the propositions for the admission of members. No nomination for membership shall be considered or acted upon by the Committee during a regular meeting of the Society.

8. The Committee on the Library shall, before each annual meeting, make a careful examination of the books and other articles deposited in the rooms of the Society, and shall report thereon to the Standing Committee, including in such report the annual report of the Librarian. They may make purchases for the Library, under the direction of the Society, within the income of the Library fund, or to such an amount as may be appropriated by a vote of the Society for such purpose.

9. The Lecture Committee shall, when practicable, provide for the reading of one or more papers upon historical subjects, at each regular meeting; and for the delivery of a course of lectures upon historical subjects, during each winter.

10. The Committee on Exchanges shall examine and report to the Society on all propositions for the exchange of duplicates from the library or cabinet, with other societies or individuals. But no such exchanges shall be made without a special vote of the Society, at a regular meeting, when at least ten members are present and voting.

11. The Publication Committee shall have the superintendence of all publications ordered by the Society. They shall, from time to time, report to the Society respecting the selection and arrangement of such papers, from the library of the Society or other sources, as are most suitable for publication in volumes of the Society's Collections.

12. The Standing Committee shall act generally in behalf of the Society; fill all vacancies in any offices until the next regular meeting of the Society; and make an annual report to the Society. Any seven members of this Committee may constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, and a notice for a meeting of the Society shall be deemed a notice for the meeting of this Committee.

III. MEETINGS.

1. An annual meeting shall be held in the month of May, at such time and place as the Standing Committee shall appoint.

2. A regular meeting shall be held on the first Tuesday evening of each month, unless suspended by a vote of the Society.

3. Special meetings shall be called by the President, or, in his absence, by the Recording Secretary, on the application of three members.

4. Previous notice of any meeting of the Society shall be given in one or more public prints. And at any meeting, duly called and notified, seven members shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, other than the admission of new members, or the negotiation of exchange.

IV. DONATIONS AND DEPOSITS.

1. All donations to and deposits with the Society shall be entered in a book kept for that purpose.

2. No donation shall be exchanged or disposed of unless the Society have a duplicate of the same.

3. All deposits left with the Society shall be carefully preserved, and may at any time be taken by the depositor, in person, or delivered on his written order. But every deposit which shall not be so reclaimed or withdrawn shall, after the decease of the depositor, be entered as a donation, and become the property of the Society; unless, at the time of making the deposit, other conditions shall be prescribed by the depositor.

V. LIBRARY.

1. The Rooms, with all books, manuscripts, pictures, and articles belonging to or deposited with the Society shall be under the immediate charge of the Librarian, acting under the direction of the Library Committee.

2. The Library shall be open for the inspection of the public, and the examination of books and manuscripts, and transcription therefrom, at such time, and on such conditions, as shall be prescribed by the Library Committee; and no book or manuscript shall be taken from the room, without a special vote of the Society, except by the Committee of Publication.

VI. PUBLICATION FUND.

The legacy left to the Society by the late President, the Hon. Thomas Day, the avails of all life memberships, and all special donations and subscriptions which may be made thereto, shall constitute a Publication Fund—the income of which shall be applied, under the direction of the Publication Committee, toward the expense of such publications as may be ordered by the Society.

VII. ALTERATIONS.

Any alteration of these by-laws shall be submitted to a regular meeting, held prior to that on which the vote on the same is taken.

OFFICERS
OF THE
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

CHOSEN AT THE ANNUAL MEETING MAY 17TH, 1859.

PRESIDENT, HENRY BARNARD, LL. D.

VICE PRESIDENTS,	{	GIDEON WELLES, HARTFORD. EDWARD C. HERRICK, NEW HAVEN. LEARNED HEBARD, LEBANON. THOMAS B. BUTLER, NORWALK. DANIEL P. TYLER, BROOKLYN. WILLIAM COTHREN, WOODBURY. SAMUEL H. PARSONS, MIDDLETOWN. LOREN P. WALDO, TOLLAND.
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CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

RECORDING SECRETARY, CHARLES HOSMER.

TREASURER, JAMES B. HOSMER.

STANDING COMMITTEE,	{	ERASTUS SMITH. CHARLES H. OLMSTED. GEORGE BRINLEY. ISAAC W. STUART. ROSWELL B. WARD. CHARLES J. HOADLY. PHILIP RIPLEY. HENRY WHITE. SAMUEL ELIOT.
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LIBRARY COMMITTEE,	{	ERASTUS SMITH. CHARLES HOSMER. SAMUEL ELIOT.
--------------------	---	--

LECTURE COMMITTEE,	{	J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. CHARLES J. HOADLY. PHILIP RIPLEY.
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PUBLICATION COMMITTEE,	{	GEORGE BRINLEY. J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL. CHARLES J. HOADLY.
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HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

REV. THOMAS HOOKER'S LETTER,

IN REPLY TO GOVERNOR WINTHROP.

[THE original of the following letter is preserved in the Massachusetts archives, in the Secretary's office at Boston. Its history may be traced in few words. The first movement toward a permanent confederation of the colonies appears to have been made, while Mr. Hooker, and his colleague Mr. Stone, were attending the synod at Newtown, in the summer of 1637. (Winth. Journal, I. 237.) At this time, or at a subsequent informal meeting, articles drawn by some of the Massachusetts council, probably by Governor Winthrop himself, were propounded by him for consideration; and it was agreed by those present that the plan of union should be referred to the supreme authority in each colony,—in Massachusetts, to "the State;" in Connecticut, to "the magistrates and *people*,"—for approval or amendment. In the summer of 1638, Connecticut having freely exercised her "liberty to explain or except," sent commissioners, with the amended articles, to the general court of Massachusetts. (Winth. Jour., I. 285-6.) The nature of the alterations which had been made, and the grounds of objection to the original plan of union, are stated by Governor Winthrop in his journal, (Vol. I. pp. 284-286,) and by Mr. Hooker, in the following letter. It will be seen that the two accounts differ somewhat as to facts—more widely as to motives; and that Mr. Hooker presents these, as well as other "apparent causes of offence," given by "those of Connecticut," under a very different aspect from that in which they were regarded by his correspondent.

The negotiation was interrupted, in consequence of the claim preferred by Massachusetts, to the jurisdiction of Agawam (Springfield.)—which had been hitherto conceded to belong to Connecticut. A letter upon this subject, from Governor Winthrop, "with advice about some other things," called forth a "very harsh" answer from Mr. Ludlow. "The Governor acquainted the council and magistrates with this letter; and because they had tied our

hands (in a manner) from replying, he wrote a private letter to Mr. Haynes, wherein he lays open their mistakes (as he called them,) and the apparent causes of offence, which they had given us." (Winth. Jour., I. 286.) On the 28th of August, of the same year, he addressed a similar letter to Mr. Hooker, the following abstract of which is preserved in the last article of the published addenda to the journal :—

"In my letter to Mr. Hooker, I complained of three things :—

1. That they told the Narragansetts, that they were not tied to the agreement we made with the Indians; and that they did this, to advance their own reputation with the Indians, and to abase ours; that it was a point of state policy in them not to dissent, while the war was at their doors; for they had need of our help, etc.; that it was done without any pressing occasion; that it was done unseasonably, after their own commissioners had propounded that before the Indians we should in all things appear as one.

2. That they altered the articles of confederation in the most material point, and all because some pre-eminence was therein yielded to the Massachusetts, and being again agreed, (only referred to consent, etc.) in three months we had no answer from them; that the way which they would have taken, of referring differences to the churches, would occasion infinite trouble and expense, and yet leave the issue to the sword.

I expostulated about the unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of counsel or judicature to the body of the people, quia the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser. The old law was, choose ye out judges, etc., and thou shalt bring the matter to the judge, etc.

3. That they did still exercise jurisdiction at Agawam, though one of their commissioners disclaimed to intermeddle in our line, and thither we challenged our right, and it was agreed so, and I had wrote to them to desire them to forbear until, etc.; that Mr. Pincheon had small encouragement to be under them; that if his relation were true, I could not see the justice of their proceeding against him, etc.

That the end of my writing to him was, that he might help quench these sparks of contention; that I did open our grievances to him in their most true and reasonable intendment; that though I be strict for our right in public, quia their magistrates are so, yet I am willing to listen to advice, and my aim is the common good."

To this letter Mr. Hooker returned the following reply. It was written in the autumn of 1638, and forwarded to Governor Winthrop by, or through, Mr. Shepard, of Cambridge, (the writer's son-in-law.) The last page or pages of the original, with the date and

signature, are unfortunately lost—a loss much to be regretted, although reference to Governor Winthrop's abstract shows that the argument of the reply is nearly completed, in the eight closely written pages which remain. At the top of the first page, the time of receiving it was noted, in a line now nearly illegible.

"Rec'd this frō Mr. Shepherd xth ab^t the 1: weeke."

Before the arrangement of the Massachusetts archives, this letter had somehow found its way to the files of 1679; and when these were bound in volumes, it was allowed to retain its place under that year. The index, however, notes it as "probably written long before." Its position in the volume (Colonial, I. 196-203,) and the absence of the date and writer's name, account for its having hitherto escaped notice and identification.

J. H. T.]

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL WORTHY SIR:

Though my experience be but little and my observance small, yet it cannot but second that which you say in the entrance of your letter, Satan is not yet weary of compassing the earth to and fro: and he that is made up of malice and hatred cannot but show himself an enemy to the God of love, and the work of brotherly love, wherein lies the life of all duties to God and man; and hence it is he turns himself unto all shapes, to do mischief this way: sometime he useth the lion's paw, sometime he puts on the fox's skin, as the proverb is: sometime he useth violent opposition, sometimes running circumvention, that he might either openly or secretly blemish the unity of the spirit, and eat asunder the sinews of society, the bond of peace. I confess my head grows gray and my eyes dim, and yet I am sometime in the watch-tower: and, if the quære be, Watchman, what in the night as the prophet speaks, I shall tell you what I have observed, and shall be bold to leave my complaints in your bosom, of what is beyond question, and then I hope I shall give you a satisfactory return of what you question in your letter.

Before I express my observations, I must profess, by way of preface, that what I shall write are not forged imaginations and suppositions coined out of men's conceits, but that which is reported, cried openly, and carried by sea and land: secondly, my aim is not at any person, nor intend-

ment to enarge any particular, with you; because it is the common trade, that is driven amongst multitudes with you, and with which the heads and hearts of passengers come loaded hither, and that with grief and wonderment. And the conclusion which is aimed at from these reproaches and practices is this, that we are a forlorn people, not worthy to be succored with company, and so neither with support.

I will particularize. If inquiry be, what be the people at Connecticut? the reply is, Alas, poor rash-headed creatures, they rushed themselves into a war with the heathen; and, had not we rescued them, at so many hundred charges, they had been utterly undone. In all which, you know there is not a true sentence: for we did not rush into the war; and the Lord himself did rescue, before friends.

If, after much search made for the settling of people, and nothing suitable found to their desires, but toward Connecticut; if yet then they will needs go from the Bay, go any whither, be any where, choose any place, any patent—Narragansett, Plymouth,—only go not to Connecticut.¹ We hear, and bear.

Immediately after the winter, because there was likelihood multitudes would come over², and lest any should desire to come hither, then there is a lamentable cry raised, that all their cows at Connecticut are dead, and that I had lost mine and only one left, and that was not likely to live, (when I never had but eight, and they never did better than the last winter.) We hear still, and bear.

And lest haply some men should be encouraged to come because of my subsistence or continuance here, then the rumour is noised, that I am weary of my station; or, if I did know whither to go, or my people what way to take, we would never abide: whereas such impudent forgery is scant found in hell; for I profess I know not a member in my congregation but sits down well apayed with his portion, and for myself, I have said what now I write, if I was to choose, I would be where I am.

But notwithstanding all this, the matter is not sure, and there is some fear that some men will come toward Connecticut, when ships come over; either some have related the nature of the place, or some friends invited them; and therefore care must be taken, and is by this generation, as soon as any ship arrives, that persons haste presently to board them, and when no occasion is offered, or question propounded for Connecticut, then their pity to their countrymen is such that they cannot but speak the truth: Alas, do you think to go to Connecticut? Why, do you long to be undone? If you do not, bless yourself from thence; their upland will bear no corn, their meadows nothing but weeds, and the people are almost all starved. Still we hear, and bear.

But may be these sudden expressions will be taken as words of course, and therefore vanish away when once spoken. Let it therefore be provided that the innkeepers entertain their guests with invectives against Connecticut, and those are set on with the salt, and go off with the voyder.* If any hear, and stay, then they be welcomed; but, if these reports cannot stop a man's proceeding, from making trial, they look at him as a Turk, or as a man scant worthy to live. Still we hear, and bear.

I suppose you are not a stranger only in Israel, nor yet usually ignorant of these things, being they are not done in a corner, but in the open streets, and not by some frantic, forlorn creatures, or madmen, who know not nor care what they say; but, before the ships can come to anchor, whole boats are presently posted out to salute persons, ordinarily, with such relations. The daily expressions of passengers report these, with much grief of spirit, and wonder such wretched falsehoods should be suffered amongst Christians.

That's in New England: but send over a watch a little into Old England; and, go we there to the Exchange, the very like trade is driven by persons which come from you, as

though there was a resolved correspondence held in this particular: as the master and merchant who came this last year to Sea-brook Fort related, even to my amazement, there is a tongue-battle fought upon the Exchange, by all the plots that can be forged to keep passengers from coming, or to hinder any from sending a vessel to Connecticut, as proclaimed an utter impossibility.

Sir, he wants a nostril, that feels not and scents not a schismatical spirit in such a framer of falsifying relations to gratify some persons, and satisfy their own ends.

Do these things argue brotherly love? do these issue from spirits that either pity the necessities of their brethren, or would that the work of God should prosper in their hands? or rather argue the quite contrary. If these be the ways of God, or that the blessing of God do follow them, I never preached God's ways, nor knew what belonged to them.

I suppose these premises will easily let any reasonable man see what the conclusion must be, that men would have to follow. The misery of the men of Connecticut would be marvellous acceptable to such, and therefore there is little expectation they do desire their good, and would procure it, who are not willing any good should come to them, if all the inventions of falsehood can prevail. Worthy sir, these are not jealousies, which we needlessly raise; they are realities, which passengers daily relate, and we hear, and bear: and I leave them in your bosom; only I confess I count it my duty, and I do privately and publicly pray against such wickedness; and the Lord had wont to hear the prayer of the despised.

I shall now address myself to endeavour the satisfaction in the particulars propounded in your letter. You warn of the enemy's subtlety, that he pretends our honour with the heathen, and that equal to, if not beyond the greatest, but indeed intends the ruin of all. I know the enemy wisheth us no weal, yet I would do the devil himself no wrong, though he never did good. For I had hitherto

thought, in my most serious observation, that he pretended and intended the quite contrary. We have constantly and commonly heard his Indian emissaries vent such reproaches as these: that we were water-carriers, tankard-bearers, runagates, whipped out of the Bay; but of such honour, and that equal to the greatest, we know no such thing, we own none, we desire none, we hear none such given, and therefore, if I may judge the devil's pretences by his practices, I cannot but conceive he pretended and intended the contrary.

The things of greatest consequence are three:—

1. That you understand from Mr. Williams, that our magistrates denied to the Naraganset that they were tied to the agreement you made with them.⁴ I suppose our magistrates told Mr. Williams so much. And, to evidence the reason of their proceeding, you may be pleased to take notice of these three things:—

Firstly. That the copy of these articles came so late after the war begun by you (for, to my best remembrance, they came in the winter, by an Indian,) that we had little liberty to consult, nor safety nor certainty to send an answer; nor did we see any such necessity bind us thereunto, being in the preface we were left unto our choice, to take or refuse, as we liked.

Secondly. Upon the first occasion that our magistrates had, when they met Mr. Stoughton, commander of your forces at Pequoyt, they plainly and punctually denied to be tied to that agreement, in some things, according as they had liberty and allowance from yourselves. And this I suppose he either did or should have certified.

Thirdly. That they then gave reasons to him, why they could not so yield, because they saw them apparently prejudicial to their proceeding, and conceived they were so to him then. And therefore believe it, for you will find this to be true, that they pleaded their own privilege because they were not tied, and conceived him disadvantaged be-

cause he was tied to the articles, but left him to his own apprehensions; for, when they observed Myantonymo to withdraw himself and Indians,* they wished Mr. Stoughton to press him with his agreement, he [they?] told Mr. Stoughton expressly.

These passages being rightly considered, a ready answer may be applied to all your inquiries.

"If there was no article there that could be prejudicial, no present occasion of performance, why should they disclaim? Why was not this signified when the copy came to hand? Nay, did it not imply a full consent when our magistrates objected to the Naraganset his former breach of agreement;" and therefore our now denial must be to advance our own reputation, and weaken yours.

The answer will be in so many sentences; we could not at present signify our denial, because safe and certain conveyance was stopped, but did it with the first opportunity; we did then, and do now, conceive it prejudicial to be tied to them all; we had present occasion to express the reason of our non-performance of them at this time, to clear our proceeding with them according to our former expressions; and therefore it was not to advance our reputation and weaken yours, but to give a right apprehension of both; and did, by our magistrates, acquaint Mr. Stoughton with our purpose, and give reasons of our proceeding, before we gave a denial. The objecting of the breach of covenant to the Naraganset was not in respect of themselves, but that he kept not touch with you.

In the second thing, you propound in your letter there be several things, the compass whereof I do not so readily conceive, and shall therefore take leave to set them down, and express my present thoughts, because I would not mistake. Your words are—

A 2d is, that having agreed to articles of confederacy with you, the main end whereof was, that a certain way might be established for the ending of all differences by a "peace-

able means. Now, because there was some small pre-eminence conferred upon the Massachusetts, these articles were thrown aside, a new frame sent us, wherein the said main end was utterly neglected." The sum of all which amounts to thus much:—

"1. Articles of confederacy were agreed upon.

"2. A certain way propounded, to end differences peaceably.

"3. These articles were thrown aside, and a new frame sent.

"4. And that, because a small pre-eminence was given to Massachusetts.

"5. The main end wholly neglected.

A free explication will give a right construction of all these according to the naked truth.

1. When then you say the articles were agreed upon, you cannot mean that they were concluded and established, for that was beyond the place and power of any that were at that consultation; but, being by yourself propounded, heard and attended by us, it was agreed, by consent on all hands, that they should be tendered to the consideration of the State with you, and of the magistrates and people with us, and a return should again be made for a final conclusion in that behalf, according to the old rule, *quod ad omnes spectat, ab omnibus debet approbari*: it being left to each party's liberty to explain or except.

Answerable to this determination, the people here, according to their meanness, were studious to take them unto serious consideration, and returned a comely account unto you, by their commissioners.

In which account, all the explications they gave of the five first articles, for the clearing of each other's apprehension, found easy approbation, being no more but the meaning of the articles cleared.

The sixth article, wherein all the difficulty lay, upon debate, in the issue appeared, by the joint judgment of

your Court and our commissioners, to exceed much the limits of that equity which is to be looked at in all combinations of free states. And were it not but that I do suppose the reasons there propounded gave in undeniable evidence that way, in my poor thoughts I have imagined that it would not be difficult to demonstrate, that the means therein propounded to end differences, and to make and maintain peace, would marvelously miss the end, in both.^a But it being, by the joint judgment of all, concluded that it answered not a rule of equity, another way that was subject to less exception, and so in likelihood to breed or occasion less heart-burning, was attended and mutually assented to on all sides.

This being the naked carriage of the cause, how a serious consideration of articles propounded in a way of love, and a rational account given of their conceivings, and that such wherein nothing was faulted, can be judged a throwing away of articles, and sending a new form, I confess I see not.

How those means, which, by the joint approbation of all, exceeds the bounds of equity and answers not the end of union and treaty of combinations, should be an easy and peaceable means to end differences, I must confess, in the dimness of mine own apprehensions, I am yet to seek. How, in rational charity, I should conclude that the small pre-eminence of the Massachusetts should occasion men to alter their apprehensions of any articles propounded, when the plainness and evidence of argument appears to alter the cause, even to the conceivings of such who have most interest in it; is yet beyond the reach of my reason, if I attend any rule I know.

From this seeming miscarriage in these particulars, you lead us to look unto the fountain from whence these and many other inconveniences will easily follow: namely, "to refer the decision of a civil question or controversy to whole churches, cannot be safe, nor warranted by any rule, as you

conceive.⁷ I confess, you are now launched into a depth, and I have little to draw withal; and, as far as I can either see or observe, there be few disputes, that ever came to my view, that find any bottom here. An answer, I suppose, must issue from the right judgment of the principles of state and church, as they are combined one with another. Something I have sometimes thought of the point, but the full debate of it would be too large for an ordinary letter. I shall attend only those things which you seasonably and pregnantly express in the cause. And here, I fully assent to those staple principles which you set down; to wit, that the people should choose some from amongst them—that they should refer matter of counsel to their counsellors, matter of judicature to their judges: only, the question here grows—what rule the judge must have to judge by; secondly, who those counsellors must be.

That in the matter which is referred to the judge, the sentence should lie in his breast, or be left to his discretion, according to which he should go, I am afraid it is a course which wants both safety and warrant. I must confess, I ever looked at it as a way which leads directly to tyranny, and so to confusion, and must plainly profess, if it was in my liberty, I should choose neither to live nor leave my posterity under such a government.⁸ Sit liber judex, as the lawyers speak. 17 Deut., 10, 11—Thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform, according to the *sentence of the Law*. Thou shalt seek the Law at his mouth: not ask what his discretion allows, but what the Law requires. And therefore the Apostles, when the rulers and high priest passed sentence against their preaching, as prejudicial to the State, the Apostle Peter made it not dainty to profess and practice contrary to their charge, because their sentence was contrary to law, though they might have pretended discretion and depth of wisdom and policy in their charge.

And we know in other countries, had not the law over-

ruled the lusts of men and the crooked ends of judges, many times, both places and people had been, in reason, past all relief, in many cases of difficulty. You will know what the Heathen man said, by the candle-light of common sense: The law is not subject to passion, nor to be taken aside with self-seeking ends, and therefore ought to have chief rule over rulers themselves.

It's also a truth, that counsel should be sought from counsellors; but the question yet is, who those should be.* Reserving smaller matters, which fall in occasionally in common course, to a lower counsel, in matters of greater consequence, which concern the common good, a general counsel, chosen by all, to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive, under favour, most suitable to rule and most safe for relief of the whole. This was the practice of the Jewish church, directed by God, Deut. 17 : 10, 11 ; 2 Chron., 19 ; and the approved experience of the best ordered States give in evidence this way. Salomon's one wise man, and the one wise woman in Abel that delivered the city, shows the excellency of wisdom and of counsel where it is, but doth not conclude that one or few should be counsellors, since "in the multitude of counsellors there is safety."

The third thing, touching the business of Agaam, comes last into consideration, in which I shall crave leave to open myself freely and fully, that the rule of righteous proceeding may appear, in undeniable plainness, where it is. The sum of that cause is to be attended in two things: partly in the jurisdiction we have exercised, partly in the jurisdiction which, at this time, you so suddenly, so unexpectedly, take to yourselves.

The grievance in the former is expressed by you in these words:—

"That notwithstanding your desire to our magistrates to forbear until the matter was tried, and the consent of our commissioners to the contrary, yet they go on with more

earnestness, which seems to carry an appearance of some violence of affection, and settled purpose of opposition."

For a fair and a full answer, you may be pleased to understand: 1. That I have advised with the commissioners, and their expressions to me were these; that they were so far from consenting that you should take away the jurisdiction in Agaam, from them to yourselves, that, to their best remembrance, there was no such thing mentioned, nor were there one syllable sounding that way in all the agitation of the business. When the commissioners of other towns, and amongst them one from Agaam, came to establish the jurisdiction which they now exercised, in reason it could not be their commission, nor the intention of the towns, to destroy their own jurisdiction, for that was to cross the scope of the treaty, and overthrow the combination for the establishment whereof they were now sent.

Whatever limits should by mutual allowance be agreed upon, it was ever taken for granted, and the nature of the treaty doth of necessity presuppose it, that the combination of the towns should be established, not disannulled, thereby. And, therefore, upon what ground you should conceive their consent in that behalf, I cannot yet find out; for that speech of our brother Steele,¹⁰ in private, to Mr. Hawthorne, affords no foothold at all to infer such a conclusion, ne quid gravius dicere.

The act of jurisdiction which hath been exercised since your letter, it was this: there was an inhabitant in Agaam apprehended in some misdemeanor; the town sent the delinquent to the Court, to desire justice, which they answerably did; and why they might not do it, nay, how they could avoid it, according to rule, it is beyond all my skill to conceive. For, at the time of our election,¹¹ the committees from the town of Agaam came in with other towns, and chose their magistrates, installed them into their government, took oath of them for the execution of justice ac-

cording to God, and engaged themselves to submit to their government, and the execution of justice by their means, and dispensed by the authority which they put upon them, by choice. Now, when these men shall demand justice from magistrates so chosen and engaged, how, in faithfulness and according to their oath, they could deny it without sin, the covenant continuing firm on both parts, and renounced at this time by neither, it is beyond my compass to comprehend, and, under favor, I do think beyond the skill of any man by sound reason to evince. The magistrates who are lawfully called, and stand bound by oath to execute justice unto a people, to deny the execution of justice when it is demanded by such, is a grievous sin. But the magistrates were thus called, thus by oath bound, and justice was in this manner demanded. Therefore, had they then refused it, they had grievously sinned. Yea, taking it for granted that it is in each inhabitant's liberty in Agaam to choose his jurisdiction (which is to me beyond question,) if I was there an inhabitant, I should judge myself bound in conscience to submit to the jurisdiction of the river, and do believe I should make a breach upon the eighth command if I should do otherwise; because, in so doing, I should steal from mine estate, in that I should rush myself into needless and endless inconveniences: namely, to cast myself into that condition, that, for a matter of five shillings (as the case may fall out,) I should put myself to unreasonable charges and trouble to seek for justice a hundred miles off in the wilderness. If Mr. Pynchon can devise ways to make his oath bind him when he will, and loosen him when he list; if he can tell how, in faithfulness, to engage himself in a civil covenant and combination (for that he did, by his committees, in their act,) and yet can cast it away at his pleasure, before he give in sufficient warrant, more than his own word and will, he must find a law in Agaam for it; for it is written in no law nor gospel, that ever I read. The want of his help troubles not me, nor

any man else I can hear of, I do assure you : we know him, from the bottom to the brim, and follow him in all his proceedings, and trace him in his privy footsteps; only, we would have him and all the world to understand, he doth not walk in the dark to us. By this it is evident what the jurisdiction was, which was exercised since your letter.

* * * * *

NOTES.

1. "Mr. Eaton and some others of Mr. Davenport's company went to view Quinepiack, with intent to begin a plantation there," in the summer of 1637. Governor Winthrop and the magistrates foresaw, in the removal of so considerable a company, "a great weakening to those parts," and the founders of New Haven colony were not suffered to depart until "all possible means had been used to accommodate them" in Massachusetts. "They had many offers," there and at Plymouth. "Charlestown offered them largely; Newbury, their whole town; the Court, any place which was free." One "place for an inland plantation was propounded to [them] and pressed with much importunity by some whose words," wrote Eaton and Davenport, "have the power of a law with us, in any way of God;" and they were persuaded to postpone their final decision to remove, until March, 1638. Winth. Jour., I. 237, 259; App. G.

2. "Many ships arrived this year [1638,] with people of good quality and estate." "There came over, this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons." Id., I. 266, 268.

3. "*Voyder*: a basket or tray for carrying out the relics of a dinner or other meal, or for putting bones in." Halliwell.

4. In September, 1636, Governor Winthrop received intelligence that the Pequots were at truce with their ancient enemies the Narragansetts, and were endeavoring to excite them to hostility against the English. He, thereupon, sent for Miantonomo to come to Boston. On the 22d of October, the Narragansett sachem, with some twenty of his captains, was induced to subscribe a treaty with Massachusetts, (the articles of which may be seen in Winthrop, I. 199.) The Narragansetts were to be recognized as the allies of Massachusetts and their "friends of other plantations (if they consent)," and engaged not to harbor or make peace with the Pequots, without the consent of the English. This agreement, concluded without the concurrence of, or consultation with, the other colonies, was not approved by Plymouth or Connecticut. The objections to its recog-

nition by Connecticut were, first, because, from the manner in which it was entered into, and the position subsequently assumed by Massachusetts in dealing with the Narragansett sachems, the receipt of tribute, division of captives, &c., the interests of Connecticut were apparently subordinated, and her influence with the Indian tribes proportionably impaired; and, secondly, because it seriously interfered with the prosecution of the war with the Pequots, who contrived to "use the Narragansetts as their covering," and, "under the vizard of a Narragansett, [to] come amongst the English and do us mischiefs." That Captain Stoughton, who commanded the Massachusetts forces in the war, had as little confidence in the honesty of the Narragansett allies, and saw as clearly the disadvantages of being "tied to that agreement," as did the magistrates of Connecticut, is evident from his letter to the governor and council, in August, 1637. (Winth. Jour., I. App. D.) Connecticut, by refusing to ratify the treaty, was freed from these disadvantages, and placed in a position to hold the Narragansetts to a more strict account—and, after the termination of the war, to conclude, on more advantageous terms, a treaty with the Narragansetts, Niantics, and Mohegans. In November, 1637, Miantonomo was again at Boston, to ratify the special treaty with Massachusetts—acknowledging "that all the Pequot country and Block Island" were theirs, and receiving permission to prosecute a war against his former tributaries, Ninigret and Wequash, whose territory bordered on the Pequot country, and one of whom had been the faithful ally and guide of the English in the late war. This *renewal* of the treaty was not more likely to meet the approval of Connecticut, than its original ratification.

5. "We hear not of Miantonimo, nor any of the Narragansetts nor Nianticks that were with you, concerning the Pequids they have, or any thing else, albeit we have sent for Miantonimo to come to us. * * If they will not deliver all to us, according to their covenant, we cannot think their intentions to be good toward us," &c. Stoughton's letter, *ut supra*.

6. This article, as originally propounded by Governor Winthrop, gave to a majority of the commissioners "absolute power" to determine all differences between the colonies. The history of the confederacy demonstrates the correctness of Mr. Hooker's conclusion, that such a mode of ending controversy or preserving peace, would "marvellously miss the end." The union of the colonies was twice threatened,—by the controversy respecting the impost for maintaining the fort at Saybrook, 1647-9, and by the declaration of war against the Dutch, in 1653,—and, in each instance, it was Massachusetts that refused to be bound by the unanimous vote of the commissioners of the other colonies.

7. Mr. Hooker, it will be observed, quietly evades a discussion of

his views of civil government, which differed too widely from those of his friend, to leave room for hope of agreement. How radical was this difference, may be seen in the passage quoted from Governor Winthrop's letter, and from the complaint in his journal, that those of Connecticut proposed to refer the decision of a civil question to *whole churches*. This was the most severe construction that he could permit himself to give to his correspondent's indorsement of the maxim "*quod ad omnes spectat, ab omnibus debet approbari.*" Had Mr. Hooker avowed the whole extent of his democratic heresies, Governor Winthrop would have been shocked by a more serious "error in government" than had yet been imputed to Connecticut. The one recognized the right of the people not only to *elect* their rulers, but to "set the bounds and limitations of their power and place;" the other was firmly persuaded of "the unwarrantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of counsel or judicature to the body of the people, quia, the best part is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part is always the lesser;" and declared that "the people, having deputed others, have no power to make or alter laws, but are to be subject." (Jour., I. 301.)

8. "The people [of Massachusetts] had long desired a body of laws, and thought their condition very unsafe, while so much power rested in the *discretion of magistrates.*" wrote Winthrop, in 1639; but "two great reasons there were, which caused *most of the magistrates*, and some of the elders, *not to be very forward* in this matter." Winth. Jour., I. 322.

The position which Governor Winthrop had assumed in defence of the alien law of May, 1637, gave peculiar significance and force to this declaration of Hooker. Vane, in his "Brief Answer" to Winthrop's "Declaration of the Intent and Equity of that order," denounced the law as "most wicked and shamefull," because it left "these weighty matters of the commonwealth, of receiving or rejecting such as come over, to the *approbation of magistrates*, and suspends these things upon the judgment of men, whereas the judgment is God's." Winthrop, in his Reply, denied that the reference of the admission or rejection of inhabitants to the discretions of the magistrates was "an unlimited and unsafe rule," because "magistrates are members of the churches here, and by their covenant are regulated to direct all their ways by the rule of the gospel;" and declared that, "whatsoever sentence the magistrate gives, according to these limitations [their church covenant and oath of office,] the judgment is the Lord's, though he do it *not by any rule particularly prescribed by civil authority.*" Hutch. Coll., 82, 87, 98. Mr. Hooker's opinion of this arbitrary enactment doubtless coincided with that of his friend, Mr. Cotton, who was so dissatisfied with it, that he had nearly determined on removal to New Haven, "but finding the law was not improved to

exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind." Cotton's Answer to Bayley; *Hutch. Hist.*, I. 63, note.

9. Mr. Cotton had answered this question, in a sermon, preached (while Mr. Hooker was in Massachusetts,) shortly before the meeting of the synod in 1637, by proving "that the rulers of the people should consult with the ministers of the churches, upon occasion of any war to be undertaken, and any other weighty business, though the case should seem never so clear;" and Governor Winthrop had declared that, "for himself, he did nothing in the cases of the brethren, but by the advice and direction of our teacher, and other of the elders." (*Winth. Jour.*, I. 237, 250.)

10. John Steele, of Hartford, sent, with Mr. Haynes and Mr. Pynchon, to confer with the Massachusetts court, on the amended articles of confederation, in June, 1638. "One of their three commissioners, falling in debate with some of our deputies," wrote Governor Winthrop, "said that they would not meddle with any thing that was within our limits; which being reported to the court, they thought it reasonable we should stand upon our right, so as, though we were formerly willing that Agawam (now Springfield,) should have fallen into their government, yet, seeing they would not be beholden to us for any thing, we intended to keep it;" &c. (*Journal*, I. 285.)

11. In this sentence, Mr. Hooker has supplied an important omission in the colony records. Nothing has been known, hitherto, of the constitution of government in Connecticut, between the expiration of the Massachusetts commission, in March, 1637, and the adoption of the Fundamental Laws, in January, 1639. The records show the proceedings of a General Court, constituted of magistrates and committees from the several towns, but nothing is said of their election, or of any delegation of authority by the freemen. At the General Court at Hartford, April 5th, 1638, the names of Mr. [George] Moxam and Mr. Jehu Burr, both of Agawam, appear in the list of committees, and those of Mr. Pynchon and Mr. Smith, among the magistrates. *Col. Rec. of Conn.*, I. 17.

ABSTRACTS OF

TWO SERMONS BY REV. THOMAS HOOKER.

FROM THE SHORT-HAND NOTES OF MR. HENRY WOLCOTT.

[THE following abstracts of two sermons by the Rev. Thomas Hooker, were deciphered from a manuscript note-book which belonged to Mr. Henry Wolcott, jun., of Windsor, now in the library of the Historical Society. This volume, of about five inches long by four wide, contains 380 pages, closely written, in cipher—comprising notes of sermons and lectures by Mr. Warham and Mr. Huit, of Windsor, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone, at Hartford, from April 19, 1638, to April 29, 1641, in regular course. These notes give the dates, texts, and general outline of each discourse; and the questions discussed at the meetings for conference and for catechising, &c. The alphabet made use of is nearly the same with that of Willis, (published in 1607,) but the great number and variety of arbitrary signs introduced by the writer, makes the task of deciphering a difficult one. On the first leaf of the volume, Mr. Wolcott has recorded the date of his birth, in the words, "The day I was born was the 21 of January, 1610;" and this entry, which is the only one of a personal character in the volume, serves to fill a lacuna in the Wolcott genealogy. The same cipher was largely made use of by Mr. Wolcott, in his business memoranda and on the pages of his ledger, (now in the possession of the Society.) The custom of taking notes of sermons brought short-hand into very general use, among the Puritans. The will of Mr. Francis Hall, of Stratford, (who died, at an advanced age, in 1689,) gives all his books "that are written in characters" to his wife, and is subscribed by his "name, legible, and in characters" which nearly resemble those made use of by Mr. Wolcott.

Mr. Hooker's letter in reply to Gov. Winthrop, (which constitutes the first article in this volume,) supplies information, not hitherto possessed, respecting the organization of government and the election of the magistrates and deputies who composed the General Court of April, 1638. To this court, undoubtedly, though the records are silent on this point, was intrusted the formation of the first constitution, which was formally adopted in January, 1639. Mr. Hooker's sermon, or rather lecture, was delivered on Thursday, May 31st, 1638, at an adjourned session, probably, of the April

Court; and was apparently designed to lead the way to the general recognition of the great truths which were soon to be successfully incorporated in the Fundamental Laws. The second of the two sermons here printed was preached on the day of the first general election under the constitution, April 11th, 1689, when Mr. Haynes was chosen governor. Mr. Wolcott's notes of this discourse presented unusual difficulties to the decipherer, who has been compelled to mark (by inclusion between brackets,) several words as doubtful, and to leave occasional blanks.

J. H. T.]

BY MR. HOOKER, AT HARTFORD, MAY 31, 1688.

Text: Deut. i. : 13. "Take you wise men, and understanding, and known among your tribes, and I will make them rulers over you." Captains over thousands, and captains over hundreds—over fifties—over tens, &c.

Doctrine. I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance.

II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humours, but according to the blessed will and law of God.

III. They who have power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them.

Reasons. 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people will be more inclined to the love of the persons [chosen] and more ready to yield [obedience.]

3. Because, of that duty and engagement of the people.

Uses. The lesson taught is threefold :—

1st. There is matter of thankful acknowledgment, in the [appreciation] of God's faithfulness toward us, and the permission of these measures that God doth command and vouchsafe.

2dly. Of reproof—to dash the conceits of all those that shall oppose it.

3dly. Of exhortation—to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to take it.

And lastly—as God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose *in* God and *for* God.

BY MR. HOOKER, AT HARTFORD, APRIL 11th, 1639.

Text: Exodus xviii.: 17, 18. “And Moses’ father-in-law said unto him, The thing that thou doest is not good. Thou wilt surely wear away, both those and this people that is with thee: for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone.”

Doctrine. I. That in the very best of a man’s performances there are, many times, more blemishes than a man is readily aware of.

Uses. 1. This should make us not to be confident in all those courses that we take up with most care and most [zeal.]

2. Matter of abasement and fear in our best [purposes.]

Doctrine. II. That the most conscientious governors or rulers may do some, and that when he is most [zealous.]

Uses. 1. We may therefore not think the worse of a governor because of some weakness.

2. To advise those that are in the place of government, to seek to Heaven for help.

Doctrine. III. That a weaker man, in some affairs and at some times, may offer seasonable advice to one that is far wiser.

Use. To teach every one of us how to carry with us teachable hearts in and

Doctrine. IV. [Not intelligible.]

V. That government, it is heavy and burdensome.

Uses. 1. Of instruction: how to [honor] our choice of magistrates.

2. Of exhortation: (1) to the people, how to carry themselves to governors: (2) to magistrates; they should look upon it as a burdensome thing.

THE TRIAL OF EZEKIEL CHEEVER

BEFORE THE CHURCH AT NEW HAVEN.

[The following account of the trial of Ezekiel Cheever, before the church at New Haven, is printed from a cotemporary manuscript, supposed to be by Cheever himself; it was furnished for publication by Mr. Charles H. Morse, of Cambridgeport, Mass.]

1649.

UPON the Lord's day, being the 13th day of the 3d month, in the reading of the offences, for which W. Thorpe was censured, there appeared several particulars which he charged the elders withal, which were reduced to two heads, namely, partiality and usurpation; the Church called him, to see if he could make them good, the Elders were ready to give their answer according to God; he answered that he was so far from making them good as that he saw it his great sin in charging them so unjustly. The Church then agreed to manifest their public clearing of them by their vote, and all the brethren did give their vote to clear them of the same, only three withdrew, and did not vote, neither to the affirmative, nor to the negative, which, being taken notice of, was offensive not only to the Church, but to some that are not of the Church. Br. Cheever, being desired to give his reason, said, he chose rather to answer in his own words. And being desired to express himself, he said, he apprehended the Elders had walked faithfully according to their light, but refused to clear them of partiality, and so left the Elders under an unjust suspicion, as if they were guilty; at which carriage the brethren were offended, and since the Lord's day, sundry of them have delivered a writing to the ruling Elder,

manifesting their offence against Mr. Cheever, out of which he hath drawn some particulars.

Offences against Mr. Cheever, for which he was first questioned, and then censured, 20th of 3d mon: 49.

1. His uncomely gestures and carriage before the Church, in the mixed assembly, were offensive both to the Ch., and to some that are not of the Ch. Witnessed by br: Lindall, br: Francis Newman, br: Will. Basset, and br: Morris, what those carriages and gestures were are afterward expressed, which is contrary to I Cor., 14: 40, Let all things be done decently and in order, also contrary to Lev. 19: 30, Ye shall reverence my sanctuary.

2. That when the Ch. did agree to clear the Elders by vote of those two charges, (namely of usurpation and partiality,) he did not give his vote either to the affirmative or to the negative, which being observed, he was asked why he did not vote with the Ch. in clearing the Elders, he answered, he rather made choice to answer in his own words, saying, he apprehended the Elders had walked faithfully according to their light, but would not say he cleared them of partiality, and so injuriously leaves the Elders under a suspicion, as if they were guilty, and afterward he involved the Ch. under the same suspicion, saying that he did not separate the Ch. from the Elders. His not voting with the Ch. either affirmatively or negatively, is a disorder, and hath the appearance of a contempt, which is offensive to the Ch., and to some that are not of the Ch., which is against the 9th Commandment, as it leaves them under suspicion of guilt: as it is against the Ch. and Elders, it is against the 5th Commandment: as it is a disorder, it is contrary to I Cor., 14: 40, Let all things be done decently and in order: as it is an offense to the mixed assembly, it is contrary to I Cor., 10: 32, Give no offence to Jew, nor Gentile, nor to the Ch. of God: as it hath appearance of contempt, it is contrary to the I Cor., 2: 22, Despise you the Ch. of God: and as he injuriously leaves them under suspicion of

the guilt of usurpation, it hath a degree of the sin of Corah, Num., 16: 3., You take too much upon you, wherefore lift ye up yourselves above the congregation of the Lord.

3. They look upon him under offence for laying the Ch: under a great blemish, with an untruth, saying, that what he now spake, he did speak to the Ch: in their private meeting and it did satisfy, yet notwithstanding they are now unsatisfied. But sundry of the brethren affirm that they were not satisfied, and some expressed themselves not satisfied with what he then spake on this point. Br: Munson, br: Crane, br: Lindall, br: Fran: Newman, br: Cooper. All these, and several others, affirm they were not satisfied, and the ruling Elder expressed himself not satisfied.

This is a slander, and so a sin against the 9th Com., and as it is a sin against the Ch: it is a sin against the 5th Com.

Besides these, there are other offences of a very high nature, which he gave at a meeting wherein were some of the Ch: and some of the Town, who being much grieved, some of them brought a writing to the ruling Elder, out of which he drew these particulars following.

1. That at a meeting of divers men and women intended for edification, after the repeating of the sermons, there was a question propounded, and spoken to by br: Boykin, namely, how brotherly love might be continued. Br: Boykin in his speech shewed that the hindrance of it was pride; after he had done speaking, he desired that any other then present, would speak further to the question; br: Cheever then said, that seeing it was desired, though he was not prepared, yet he would deliver his present apprehensions, and in his speech said, another hindrance of brotherly love was tale-bearing, and making things public which were secret.

The whole drift of his speech was to strengthen his own

Witness of
speech to
question, F.
Newman,
Br. Boykin,
Sr. Tuttle.

opinion, (which what it is will afterward appear,) and to reprove those that were not of his mind in that point, he was very earnest, (and that with much vehemency of spirit,) that things secret should be kept secret, and said that it was an unbrotherly carriage for any to reveal it, alledging 18 Mat: to prove it, and said if any would reveal any case that was secret, they must be able to show an express rule from Christ by which they are allowed to make known that case, which speeches of his did much unsatisfy sundry that were present. After he had done speaking, there was another question propounded touching that which Mr. Cheever had spoken, in the agitation thereof Mr. Cheever did maintain that if three persons hearing one and the same thing from one and the same man at three several times, they are all but one witness, and so no competent testimony to prove it.

Witnesses to this latter part, Good: Judson, Mr. Ling, and Jarvis Boykin. This is not only a doubtful disputation and so contrary to Rom., 14: 1, but a dangerous error, and in the nature of it a stumbling block, and an occasion of falling, contrary to Rom., 14: 21.

2. That after much agitation and light held forth by the rest of that meeting who declared their dissent, br: Cheever did not only remain confident in his apprehension, but in the close of the conference, desired that the question might be considered, and spoken to at another meeting, but at the next meeting at which br: Cheever was present, which was about six weeks after, he at first seemed to be a stranger and ignorant of the thing, which some of the company much wondered at, after that when a brother shewed himself troubled and offended that br: Cheever should defend so dangerous a position in such a public meeting, br: Cheever asked him, why he might not speak his apprehensions as well as the brother his, he was answered, he might so long as he attended rule, but he might not vent

what he pleased in such a meeting. It was told him Mr. Davenport had cleared this point in public, and what he held did contradict it, Mr. Cheever said, he owned all Mr. D. delivered in public, it was told him, then he must own what they did affirm, he said no, for he did not speak to this case.

Witnessed by Mr. Ling, G. Judson, Mr. Peirce, Jarvis Boykin, and Fr. Newman.

He that prophesieth though by gift, he that propoundeth or speaketh to questions in such a meeting, should consider and see he do it to edification. I Cor., 14: 3, 26, but this is contrary thereunto.

8. That when some in the company declared their apprehensions with some confidence for the truth against his error, br. Cheevers wondered at them, asked if they thought themselves had all the light, affirmed that there were some, whom both he and they ought to reverence, that were of his judgment in this matter, and added that some in the Town, wiser than they, knew his judgment, and yet did not carry it toward him as they did. Which carriage of his in the nature of it tendeth to unsettle them from the truth they held, to draw them to a more favorable opinion of his error, and by degrees to corrupt them in judgment and practice, which is the way and work of a seducer.

Witnesses. Jarvis Boykin, Mr. Ling, Fra: Newman and Good. Judson.

This is reprov'd I Cor., 15: 33, Evil words corrupt good manners.

5. Br. Cheevers that he may express his meaning more fully, puts a case at the said meeting, Suppose a man call another knave to one person this day, to a second to-morrow, to a third the next day, upon what day can you prove the man called the other knave, for each day had but one witness. He was answered that in such a case the day (or moment of time) is but a circumstance, the reproach or defamation may be proved by three witnesses; br. Cheever

denied it, wherein he opens a gap for all slanderous whisperings, without limit or restraint.

Witness. Mr. L., Mr. P. G. J. J. B. F. N.

Which sin of whispering is forbidden in the members of the Ch: in the II Cor., 12: 20, nay, in heathens, I Rom: 29.

5. When he was told, that if this be a truth, God hath provided no way to punish the sin of whispering. He answered out of Prov., 25: 23, As the north wind driveth away rain, so doth an angry countenance a backbiting tongue; when it was told him, that might prevent, or stop it, but not punish it, he answered some sins must be kept secret, and left to the Lord to reveal them in his own time, alledging Eph., 5: 12, It is a shame to speak of those things, which are done of them in secret, which text is quite beside the scope of this discourse. And by this opinion of his he doth maintain and teach that this malignant sin of whispering, while it is kept between man and man, to how many single men soever it spread, and of how dangerous consequence soever it be, is neither to be censured by a Ch: nor punished by a civil Court, which latter may appear more fully by what followeth.

Witn: Mr. L. Mr. P. G. J. J. B. F. N.

This is a breach of the 3d Com. perverting scripture to serve his own turn.

6. In this agitation, br: Cheever mentioned the case of W. Playne of Guilford, a man condemned and executed for much unnatural filthiness &c., as if it had been a secret miscarriage, suiting the question, he was wished to hold to the case and see what it would make for his opinion, and was told there was never two witnesses together at any time, when Plaine acted his filthiness, which at first put br: Cheever to a stand, but he soon replied, there might be more in it than he knew; he was told, that holding his opinion, he condemned the court's proceedings: br: Cheever answered, because the court doth a thing, ergo, it is

true, it was replied, The Court hath done it, ergo by your opinion it is false. Br: Cheever answered, he would not meddle with the Court's matters, but added, what if all the world affirm a thing, is it therefore true; himself (he said) had been of the same judgment with those that now dissented from him, but he saw such convincing reason as altered his judgment, he could not withstand it; it was answered, he must not leave scripture, and take up reason. In all of which he shews too much of an overweening conceit of his own sufficiency, undervaluing Court, and world, if they cross his conceits; he spake not only slightly of the Court of Magistrates in such a meeting, contrary to 5th Com., but his opinion and dispute reflects censure upon them, if Plaine were condemned upon never so many single witnesses, with each of which he had committed unnatural filthiness alone.

Wit: the same as before.

7. The company present disliking both his opinion and his stiffness in maintaining it, put a case to him, Suppose three women testify, each for herself against one man, that he hath abused her (and so each of them) by an adulterous fellowship, whether three such testimonies of one and the same act, committed by one and the same man, would not prove him an adulterer. Br: Cheever answered, that was a gross act; being asked, whether he still held his opinion, he said, he would not answer; he was told by one of the meeting, who is not of the Ch: of necessity this apprehension must be laid down, if it be continued and admitted, it will produce dangerous consequences, he answered we must attend rule, and not consequences. Wherein besides his stiffness, endeavoring to hold up an opinion full of unavoidable absurdities, he gives not due honour to the wisdom of God in the Scriptures, whose perfect rules duly attended will prevent all such dangerous consequences, and by which all such sins so discovered may duly be punished. All which evils are further aggravated in that, neither in either

of the two conferences, nor in the close of the latter, though there were six weeks time between the meetings, he did not sufficiently witness against the abominableness of such practices, nor warn those that heard him to beware of fellowship therein, but rather seem to teach them how to secure themselves and one another from censure and punishment for the same; wherein he falls under the sentence of Christ, Mat., 5: 19, He that breaketh one of the least of these Commandments, and teacheth men so, he shall be called the least in the kingdom of heaven; yea at the last meeting he gave greater offence than at the first.

Offensive words spoken against the Ch: first testified by W. Thorpe.

1. He saith that br: Cheever and he speaking about Mrs. Eaton, why she did not come to the Ch:, W. Thorpe said, that was, because she was not fit to give the Ch: satisfaction, Br: Cheever answered, the Ch: had more need give her satisfaction for the wrong they did her in not letting her come to the Church.

Br: William Pecke, and br: R. Hill in the mixed assembly testified, that he spake the same to them.

This is a slander of a high nature, and so a breach of the 9th Com: and as it is against the Ch: it is a breach of the 5th Com.

2. Another time W. Thorpe and br: Cheever speaking together about the Elders preparing matters for the ch: br: Cheever said, We have nothing to do now but to say Amen, we are all Clerks now.

Br: W. Pecke in the mixed assembly testified, that br: Cheever said these words to him also.

And himself in debate of the thing, granted, that he had spoken these words, as may afterward appear.

This is a slander against the Ch: and against the Elders, and so a breach of the 9th Com: likewise it is a breach of the 5th Com., contrary to these rules. I Cor., 11: 22, Despise you the Ch: of God. I Tim., 5: 19, Against an

Elder receive no accusation under two or three witnesses. But you raise an accusation. It is also a partaking in that sin of Miriam, for which the Lord would have her cast out of the camp, Numb., 12: 2, Hath the Lord indeed only spoken by Moses, hath he not spoken by us, v. 14, if her father had spit in her face, should she not be ashamed seven days, let her be shut out of the camp seven days.

After the first charge against br: Cheever was read, the ruling Elder desired that the brethren, who had observed and were offended with his carriage, in the assembly would declare what his carriage and gestures were. Br: H. Lindall and br: W. Basset affirmed, that his carriage was to them very offensive, they were ashamed that it should be such in so public an assembly, one while holding down his head into the seat, then laughing or smiling. Br: F. Newman said one while he wrapped his handkerchief about his face, and then pulled it off again. Br: Morris affirmed his carriage was offensively uncomely: three of them affirmed, that he rather carried it as one acting a play, than as one in the presence of God, in an ordinance.

Br: Cheever (being desired to answer) said, that his holding down his head might be from the pain of headache, with which he is often troubled; he was asked if his head did then ache, and how his smiling or laughing could agree with such a pain; but he could answer to neither, but said, he took no notice of his own gestures, nor of any levity of spirit, nor of any carriage suiting a stage-play. But for the gestures or outward actions mentioned, by which men must judge, himself judged them as neither suiting his person, nor work in hand, and he should account it a mercy from God, if he had more command of his outward gestures; his objecting the aching of his head, which he could not affirm to be at that season, nor could tell how to make it suit with his smiling or laughing, did rather increase the offense.

To the 2d, br: Cheever answered, that being loth to dis-

turb the peace of the Ch: he held up his hand to neither vote; had he that light in the case which Mr. Davenport this day held forth, he could have held up both his hands to clear the Elders of partiality. He wished, if any man could, he would charge him, that he had so much as suspected the Elders to have turned aside wittingly and willingly from any case in hand with respect of persons. Whereupon Br: Boykin told him, that upon the 2d day last, which was May 14, '49, another and himself told him that they wondered that he and some others should lay such a blur upon the elders, though in truth the greatest blur was upon themselves; to which br: Cheever answered, that br: Boykin, and the other with him did not know so much as others do; but (said he) the Ch: knoweth that myself and some others did differ from them, in the cases of Mr. Perry, and James Russill. Br: Cheever acknowledged that br: Boykin spake truth. It was asked how he could intimate such a charge then, and now so clear them, he answered, he can now clear them, though he could not then, he answered, he knew well that was partiality, which our Pastor this day held forth to be partiality but withal he thought partiality had a further extent; being wished to give his definition of partiality, he said, that different carriages in several cases, when himself could not see the reason, to him seemed partiality; he was answered, that the rule rightly understood and applied must determine what is partiality, not the erring apprehension of a prejudiced brother. Br: Cheever asked who must judge of the rule, it was answered, the rule must be cleared up by itself, or by scripture light, but in this case the Ch: would judge of the rule upon their account to Christ, and not a private brother under offense.

To the third charge he answered, that he supposeth it will be granted that no other answer was required from him, he therefore thought the Ch: was satisfied. The ruling Elder, and divers of the brethren professed that

they expressed themselves unsatisfied with what he held forth in the private Ch: meeting, and he was wished to consider further of it, so that they saw not how he could say the Ch: was satisfied without violation of truth.

Concerning his offensive conference and dispute in two several meetings, at which some of the Ch: and some of the Town were present, he answered that had he had a copy of the charges, he should have been better able to give answer, he added it is difficult for him to remember the several expressions and connections of one thing with another, the leaving out of some thing spoken may make the rest appear worse than it was. Some of the Ch:, and some of the Town now present did witness before the assembly, that the things charged (though more largely, yet) were delivered in that manner, and to that purpose, and br: Cheever was wished that if he knew any thing left out, or misplaced to his prejudice, to express it. Whereupon br: Cheever spake something of the occasion of that part of the conference which concerns him and his carriage in it, and urged the 18 Mat: for a private dealing in all cases of whispering, he was told that whispering may sometime be of so dangerous a nature, and of so mischievous concernment to the public, that it can neither safely be concealed, nor admit such a private dealing as Mat. 18 calls for, when the offense is but against a private brother. Then he urged Deut., 17: 15, One witness shall not rise up against a man &c., he was told that several witnesses agreeing fully in the matter and persons concerning whom they testified, though the whisperer will admit but of one witness at a time, do yet in this case equal two or three together.

Lastly br: Cheever excepted against that passage in the second charge, where they say, he remained confident in his apprehension, whereas he spake according to the best of his present light; but his confidence was testified by divers present at that first meeting, and was further evidenced, after much agitation, toward the close of the second meet-

ing by his own express words telling them, he had been of the same judgment with them, but he saw such convincing reason as altered his judgment, he could not withstand it.

When the former charges had been seriously considered, and the case ready for censure, the Elders declared their judgment, and held forth light to the Ch: for an admonition, and divers of the brethren manifested their consent. The ruling Elder was bringing it to vote, but then br: Gilbert desired to know, whether those two charges made by W. Thorpe were sufficiently proved, and should be put into the censure, he was answered, till the proof be more full and satisfying those two charges will not be put into the censure, though many of the brethren being unsatisfied with his carriage and answers about them, the Ch: must leave them with him to be further considered of in the fear of God. Hereupon br: W. Pecke desired to know, whether br: Cheever did deny that he had spoken the things charged by W. Thorp. It was answered that he had, and still doth affirm, that he remembers not, that at any time, nor in any place, he had spoken these words, or any words to that purpose, to W. Thorpe. Whereupon br: Pecke informed the Ch: that br: Cheever had spoken the same to him, br: Cheever being desired to answer, said, that the word Clerks, was used by him in his speech with br: Pecke, but whether in a way of supposition, or affirmation, he saith (in a late conference between br: Pecke and himself about this matter) br: Pecke could not tell, but the two particulars charged upon br: Cheever by W. Thorp being read, br: Pecke testified, that br: Cheever spake the same words or to the same purpose to him. Br: Cheever was wished not to cast mists, and dally thus before Christ, and his Ch:, but to answer directly to this charge of br: Peck's. He acknowledged that the notion of Clerks, was not new to him, he did believe he might have spoken to that purpose to br: Pecke, and others, though he

did not remember to whom particularly. He was told that the substance of the charge, namely, that the brethren are but Clerks, is about the Town, he was therefore wished to consider (besides the reproach cast upon the Ch:) whether he had dealt uprightly, and according to his light, (without some reservation, or warping by reason of his corrupt opinion in the case of whispering, or some sinful liberty taken to deny (against his knowledge) what is testified but by one witness, in the case of W. Thorp, who is so clear and confident in his charge, that if called, he durst attest it, by oath, and professeth br: Cheever lyeth under much guilt, in saying he remembers it not. Br: Cheever was also minded, that in a like case between Richard Perry and Mrs. Pell, there remains an impression to this day upon the spirits of some of the brethren (and probably br: Cheever himself is one of them,) that R. Perry is guilty. Br: Cheever replied that he knew no such thing by himself. He was told that this charge of the brethren, being Clerks, and that they have nothing to do now but to say Amen, imports two things, first, that the Elders usurp a lordly power over the Ch:, which is neither granted, nor allowed by Christ. Secondly, that the brethren are weak and childish, either wanting light, or wanting courage to improve their light, about the affairs of Christ, in his Ch:, and in both respects the charge is great and heavy, he was therefore wished either to instance and prove, or to let fall and clear, but he refused to do either. He was told, that this notion or prejudice against the whole Ch: hath been (it seems) so long entertained and cherished in his bosom, so often vented in a whispering way, and (beside the hurt to others) hath made so deep an impression upon his own spirit, that he can now hardly part with it. But upon this discovery, the Ch: now expect and require that he either convince or acquit both officers and brethren, or they must think of a higher censure, to suit this slander and contempt persisted in. Br: Cheever replied, that he agreed with the

Ch. that the preparing work belongeth to the Elder's office, he did not in that respect charge them with usurpation. The ruling Elder asked him, in what other respect he did charge them with usurpation, and desired to know his ground, why the brethren are now but Clerks, if he could give no ground, it would appear that he vented this slander out of malice. Br. Cheever denied that he had done any thing out of a malicious frame, but said, he thought his ground was a passage in Mrs. Eaton's case. It was expressed when she was to come to the Ch: that she must not come, till the Elders were first satisfied. It was replied, this instance is neither sufficient nor true. The Officers propounded, and consented to her coming, but a question then falling in about the Officers preparing work, wherein himself and some others dissented from the rest of the brethren, the Ch: acting freely, and according to their light, the major part by far declared and voted, that they would not have her come, till she had first applied herself to the Elders. Hereupon sundry of the brethren declared themselves offended with br. Cheever for laying a false ground to bear up a slanderous charge.

Our Teacher asked him whether he had not voted with the Ch: to clear the Elders of usurpation, he answered, that he knew not that the vote was put under that notion of usurpation, he was told that the vote was put under that express notion and word, and was therefore desired to declare himself, whether he did yet clear the Elders of usurpation, but he refused to do it. So that as the Lord's day last he left the Elders under a suspicion of partiality, so he doth now of usurpation. Hereupon the Governour said, that about the entrance of those agitations one of the Elders had compared bro: Cheever's carriage to that of Korah, and himself saw not any great difference, only Moses was a Magistrate, and both Moses and Aaron were called immediately, whereas the Elders are now called mediately to their office, and so to be rulers and overseers of the flock.

But br. Cheever in his rising against them in effect saith, you take too much upon you &c., and will not shew wherein, that they may clear themselves, or see their evil. Br. Cheever was again desired to give some satisfying reason, why he could not clear the Elders of usurpation; he answered, he thought the brethren had not their due liberty to act according to the light of their own consciences, and to dissent when they wanted light. The Ruling Elder asked him, who hindered them of their due liberty, and told him that his speeches applied to the case import that the Ch. is brought into bondage, whereas the brethren have ever had their full liberty to speak according to the rules of order and edification, and more can neither safely be expected nor granted in a church. Br. Cheever neither retracting, nor giving any answer, our Teacher and sundry of the brethren told him, they had been often and long grieved by, and for him, his offensive carriages, both in the private meetings of the Ch. and in the public assembly, as himself well knew, had been afflictingly burdensome to them, they had for a long time observed and witnessed against his contradicting, stiff, and proud frame of spirit, they feared God had a controversy with him, wondered what it would come to, and what God would do with him. After a long debate without any fruit appearing in the spirit and carriage of br. Cheever, when he could neither be drawn to take off the charge, nor to instance in any particulars, which being opened might have been cleared before the assembly, but did obstinately persist in fastening a slanderous reproach upon the officers and brethren, the Ch. proceeded to censure, and upon a serious consideration of his miscarriages, in the nature and compass of them, this last making the rest full, and heaped measure, by vote ordered, that he be cast out of the body, till the proud flesh be destroyed, and he be brought into a more member-like frame.

The Answer of Ezekiel Cheever to the former Charges.

To. 1. To the gesture of holding down my head and wrapping my handkerchief about it, I did then, and do still impute it to the aching of my head as the cause of it, though I cannot clearly remember it, upon these grounds. 1. I know no other cause of it. 2. I do know I am constantly troubled with violent pain in my head in hot weather, when my mind and intentions are seriously fixed, as I have observed most usual on the Lord's day in the evening, and after church meetings, and to mitigate my pain I have been wont to hold my head straight with my handkerchief, as a fillet, finding some little ease by it, and yet have purposely avoided holding down my head long, but have oft looked up, that I might not seem to sleep. 3. When I came home that Sabbath in the evening, (when these gestures are testified to be acted, viz, 13th of 8d month, when I did not join with the vote to clear the Elders,) my wife tells me I complained of pain in my head, nor is the smiling after objected so unsuitable, but it may well consist with that, and greater pain also. For the smiling or laughing, I know neither the thing, nor any cause of it, nor whether there was any more than a natural ordinary cheerfulness of countenance seeming to smile, which whether it be sinful, or avoidable by me, I know not, yet upon certain clear testimony, I shall judge myself for any such unseemly gestures, as having appearance of that evil charged, though I know they arise, not from lightness, but over-seriousness and vehemency of spirit, and too much activity, at other times discovering itself in unseemly motions of body, somewhat whereof might appear at this time, though I remember no such, nor occasion of them. I desire to be humbled for the least appearance of evil, and occasion of offence, and to watch against it. Yet notwithstanding that there was such excess that way, as the charge seems to carry, I cannot be convinced upon these grounds. 1. Many,

(more than witness against me,) that were near me on both sides, and before me, and did observe me, took no notice of any uncomely gestures, and are unsatisfied, and troubled at the carriage of the thing. 2. None have manifested openly their taking notice of, or offence at any such gestures in me, only those 4 that witness, though it be said, they were offensive to the Church. 3. One alone, viz, William Basset, did publicly affirm, my carriage was like a stage-player, (and that to the grief and offence of sundry, though not publicly manifested,) though it be said, 3 affirmed it. I have spoken to the other 3 witnesses, and they all deny it.

To. 2. The Elders did require the vote, and it was put upon the Church without any foregoing agreement to it, nay it was objected against. 2. I know no rule warranting, much less requiring such a vote upon such an occasion, tending to put men upon unsafe practises, or to betray themselves, if they had any doubts or scruples in their consciences, though they had never manifested them to any. 3. I know no order appointed by Christ, that the Church shall require every member to act with them in every vote, or in this in particular, when they want light, and so no breach of order in withdrawing from it. 4. I know no sin in refusing to clear the Elders and Ch.; or either, from partiality and usurpation, when the rule of the word doth not require it of me, nor can I with a good conscience, the grounds and reasons whereof I am ready to manifest, and to offer to the judgment and consideration of any of the Churches of Christ, when God shall be pleased to afford that mercy unto me, for my relief in my present afflicted condition. 5ly. The public discovery of this, and open laying them under suspicion, I would gladly have prevented, and therefore did not hold up my hand to the negative vote, when I could not in conscience to the affirmative, but being observed by some of the brethren I was called to account and forced to do what I did. Many

rules are alledged to be broken by me, and the fact highly aggravated, but I see not that evil in it, nor shall I, till my grounds of refusal are removed, which yet are not, though before and since I have often heard what answer is given to them, nor see I any likelihood that ever I shall have them all satisfied, though I am still willing to hearken if any thing further may be said to them.

To. 3. I did apprehend that my answer in the private meeting of that Ch. did satisfy, and so the 2 other brethren, who gave the same answer, apprehended with me; I spake according to my apprehensions, nor am I yet convinced that my apprehensions were false. The proof that is brought is, that sundry brethren were unsatisfied, and the ruling Elder expressed himself not satisfied. To which I answer, 1. If men be inwardly unsatisfied, and express it not, I know not that. 2. The Elder and some other expressed dislike that we used those words, they had walked according to their light, which implied our not approving the Elders' light in the cases in question; but it was never put to the Church then, nor since, to know whether our answer did satisfy, and if those brethren had expressed themselves not satisfied, yet I conceive they are not the Church, the rest being silent I did take it they were contented with it. But whereas it is after said, sundry expressed themselves not satisfied, and I was wished further to consider of it; I apprehend it is a mistake, that was at another meeting, and upon another occasion, viz, W. Thorpe's accusation, and my answer to it; but this particular was not named, nor did I ever think to hear more of it. Lastly, if in the event my apprehensions were discovered to be false, yet I cannot see sin in them, because so to apprehend of them, was (in my conscience the answer being satisfying as the case stood,) to think well of them, which, the contrary not evidently appearing, by the law of love I am bound to.

Concerning offences in the meeting.

I am charged with offences of a very high nature, but searching into the particulars and rules for conviction, I am not able to discover that which is apprehended in them. The substance of all is maintaining a doubtful disputation, and a dangerous error. To which I answer, 1. Though the opinion be acknowledged a doubtful disputation wherein difference in a Church may be tolerated, yet is not that only denied me, but even that moderation and means for conviction with forbearance, which might be expected in a greater matter than this. For I was called forth to public censure, without any private dealing with before by the Church, or Elders, either to hold forth light to me, or to hear what I could say for myself; the like I think was never practised towards any censured by N. H. Church, though for most evident scandalous sins; nay I did not so much as know that a censure was intended against me.

2ly. When I was called forth to censure, and the charges read against me, though sundry scriptures are alledged, yet I understand none either brought or intended to confute the error, only 2 to show that whispering is forbidden in the members of the Church, and in heathen, which I never did, and hope never shall deny; so that I conceive, I am censured without sufficient means for my conviction, and light held forth to reclaim me from the conceived error in my judgment. 8dly. I have given the grounds of my opinion to the Teacher in writing, entreating an answer from him; but I have not yet received it, nor any promise that I shall, so I still wait for and expect conviction from the Church.

But to speak to some particular passages, where need is. In. 1. That the drift of my speech to the first question was to strengthen this opinion, is not so, for I had neither thoughts nor intentions of any such opinion to be spoke to then; it fell in accidentally, in speaking to another question propounded after this first of love. For the word

(express rule) I said, or meant, a clear rule from the word, which is either in express words, or by sound consequence: Why any thing here did unsatisfy any, I know not, none ever told me so, nor was there any thing spoke as I know, nor is here alledged but clear truth.

In. 2. The reason of my seeming strange to their motion for debate of a question I desired (they said) might be further spoken to, was because I knew not of any such desire of mine expressed to them, nor was I willing to enter into any more debate about it, though I could not be ignorant of the agitation of the question the meeting before.

In. 3. The reason of my alledging the authority of others (yet without names) was to remove the odiousness they would fasten upon the opinion, as if no godly man would hold it, one saying he would not live in such a place where it was practised according to it.

In. 5. The text charged to be perverted by me was alledged to prove that some sins, though of a gross nature, God suffers to lie secret his own time.

In. 6. I mentioned W. Plaine's case, as an instance, for he had committed some of his filthiness, some years before he was discovered, as for the Court's censure upon him, I knew not their proof, and therefore would not meddle with it, but they still pressing upon me the practise of the Court, I was forced to reply, that would not carry the cause if it were so, and said, is this a good argument, the Court hath done it, ergo it is a truth. Wherein I see no reflection upon authority, nor slight speaking of them, I know I did studiously avoid it; nor indeed did the Court proceed upon such witnesses apart, as is pleaded for, for he confessed the evils charged upon him.

In. 7. I put off that instance, because I would not further provoke their spirits, and for the same reason refused to declare myself of a settled judgment in the point; nor was I any otherwise confident in it than maintaining it without yielding to their apprehensions in it, and unless

.

I hear more than I yet have, I doubt I shall not alter in it. Only whereas it is said in relating my answer, I alledged 18 Mat: for all cases of whispering, I did except capital matters by God's ordinances to be punished by the civil Magistrate, and intended it only for Church-dealing, where every member hath power in his own hand given him by Christ for healing such private evils.

I am further charged, that I did not sufficiently witness against whispering. But that I did witness against whispering, and show the way of dealing with it by 18 Mat: they cannot deny, and I did speak much more against it than they have related.

The heavy charges that are laid against me, of not honoring God's wisdom, and teaching men to sin, with the judgment following such, I hope I am free from the guilt, and through God's mercy shall be from the judgment; however for the present not being convinced, I cannot fall under them. Yet this I shall say, and did of my own accord in the close of the last meeting, that seeing it was so offensive, and some weak persons there, I was sorry I had discovered myself so in it, and saw it contrary to Rom. 14: 1. And I now see, considering all circumstances, I missed the season, and in that respect my discourse was not edifying; though the tenent itself, I yet look upon as the truth of God.

Concerning offensive words, &c.

William Thorpe had discovered upon advice to the Ruling Elder, that myself, and 3 other brethren, had spoke such and such words to him alone at several times. Whereupon the Ruling Elder came with him to me, and read those two charges made against me by W. Thorpe. The thing being sudden and strange, and at the first sight to me an evident breach of rule 18 Mat: I witnessed against it, and gave this answer, I would neither affirm nor deny what he said, but desired further to consider of it, and to speak with W. Thorpe alone, for I knew I had such notions in my mind,

but did not remember that I spoke so to him. The next day, without any farther speaking to me, or signifying such a thing, the matter was brought to the Church, and I being called forth gave and stood to the same answer which the ruling Elder before had wrote from me, witnessing against W. Thorpe's carriage in it, which did unsatisfy some of the brethren. After sundry meetings taken up about W. Thorpe and other offences, seeing more offence and trouble like to come upon me, I answered, I could not remember what he laid to my charge, which answer better satisfied them than the former, and some what allayed the offence, that I had liberty to come to the Lord's supper the Sabbath following, which otherwise I had been deprived of. Yet notwithstanding this, though no other proof was known against me, when W. Thorpe was censured, his accusation against me was read in the mixed assembly, and the next Sabbath, I being called forth for the former matters, this accusation again was read against me, and I required to answer, and gave the same answer I did last in the private meeting, viz, I did not remember that I had spoke such words, or to such purpose to him at any time. Here-upon W. Pecke informed against me that I had spoke such words to him alone; but in a sinful way, for he never dealt with me in private, according to 18 Mat: though he had told me once, many weeks before, that he apprehended such passages were between us, and himself agreed with me in unsatisfiedness concerning carriage in Mrs. Eaton's case, but he said he would not witness against me if he could help it; I told him he had no rule for it, nor could be a witness as he related things to me, for he did then, and hath since before two brethren declared, that he was clear I used the word Clerks, but how I applied it he was not clear, nor could certainly say I affirmed it of the Church: so that I apprehend he is no witness in that particular, according to the Church's judgment in case of whispering. But because the thing was taken for fully proved, and

would be thought I could not be wholly ignorant whether I had had such notions, or thoughts in my mind, or no, and that I guilefully went about to hide my sin, (when as I saw no such sin, viz, slanders as the Church charged, in it,) I did acknowledge, I had had such a notion in my head, viz, of Clerks, but did not acknowledge (for I remember it not, nor is the proof sufficient,) that I spoke so to either of these persons testifying against me; though it is likely I did, because I had such a notion in my head, and therefore I never did, nor durst deny it, though the contrary be affirmed. And the ground of such a notion, to my remembrance, I declared was the carriage in Mrs. Eaton's case, that it was concluded she should not come to the Church till the Elders were satisfied. Whereas it is replied this instance is not true, nor sufficient, for the truth of it, I can prove it, it was a public and known case. Mrs. Eaton after she had long endeavoured with the Elders to give them satisfaction, and could not attain it, apprehending invincible laws laid in her way, did desire and importune to come to the Church, at last the Elders yielded to propound her desire themselves to the Church, but withal that themselves were not satisfied, and declared to the Church their objections, and desired their judgment in them; whereupon finding some brethren not concurring with them, and sundry inclining for her coming notwithstanding, it was unsatisfying that way was given, they not being satisfied; there was therefore an agreement that she should come before the Church, but under the notion of coming before the Elders, only the Church should be present, and such as would speak for her conviction to further her repentance might, but any dissenting brethren were to refrain and afterwards in her absence to propound their doubts. The meaning whereof was this, that the brethren of the Elders' apprehensions might have liberty to speak, the dissenting brethren not. This did not satisfy Mrs. Eaton's desire, and therefore she accepted it not. At last it was voted and

concluded by the major part, that she should not come till the Elders were satisfied; not, till she had applied herself to them, as the charge implies, for that had been done long before to her utmost, as she professed, and the Elders thought they could do no further good to her, imputing it to her prejudice, this I apprehended, was so to subject the Church to the Elders, that they had nothing to do in this case but to consent with the Elders, or to say Amen, and till they are satisfied, they must not, or will not meddle with her. This did not satisfy me, nor did I see how the Church could by rule refuse her so just and reasonable request of offering her repentance to their judgment, desiring help from them where she came short.

For the speech concerning Mrs. Eaton, though I remember not that neither, nor do acknowledge it proved against me, yet it is known I am unsatisfied in this, that she is charged with striking her mother (upon the face,) that part of it, upon one testimony; that it hath been so pressed upon her at least to suspect herself, made an objection to hinder her coming to the Church, though she had professed she certainly knows she did not strike her upon the face, but the breast. This I have thought, and possibly may have said, the Church had more need to give her satisfaction in this particular, than to require it of her; wherein I see no slander, much less of a high nature.

Robt: Hill is no witness in this case, he spake doubtfully, and without rule, as the rest, never having spoken word to me in private, and being since spoke to, I am told, he said, he did not think he was taken for a witness.

As for my answer to the Teacher's question, whether I had not voted with the Ch: to clear the Elders of usurpation, it is I conceive true, it was not put under that notion in the private Ch. meeting, but placed upon that which was conceived to be the ground of it, viz, the Elders' preparation, wherein myself, and some other brethren formerly doubting in a particular, did concur: if his question had

reference to the mixed assembly, where partiality and usurpation were joined together in one vote, then in withdrawing from one, I did from both, and both were intended by me.

For my backwardness to produce instance and proof on my behalf, I was indeed slow to it, as not seeing any likelihood of good effect by it, nor so prepared for it as I might have been, being suddenly without forewarning called forth as if so conceiving it would be apt to multiply offence. Yet being pressed somewhat I did speak, naming the head of what I have with grief apprehended to be true in some particular, viz, that the brethren had not their due liberty to act according to the light of their own consciences; and the answer given is, that they have ever had their full liberty to speak according to the rules of order and edification; but that must be understood in the Elders' judgment, for if they think contrary, though amiss, the brethren are rebuked, which doth impeach their true liberty, and makes them afraid to speak when they apprehend they have just cause.

Whereas in the close, I am charged with a stiff, proud, contradicting frame of spirit, I humbly entreat the particulars wherein I have differed may be produced, and offered to the judgment of the godly, I spoke not but out of conscience in a righteous cause (as I think) when I could not be silent; I must act with the Church, and (which is uncomfortable) I must either act with their light, or may expect to suffer, as I have done, and do at this day for conscience sake; but I had rather suffer any thing from men, than make shipwreck of a good conscience, or go against my present light though erroneous, when it is not discovered. And I look upon it as a mercy, and answer of many prayers, that notwithstanding many temptations I have conflicted with in that kind upon such occasions, the fear of men hath not prevailed above the fear of God. I do not go about wholly to free myself from blame in my

carriage, and in these particulars, human frailty and infirmity I do see and bewail, as too much lightness, in that word Clerks, want of wisdom and coolness in ordering and uttering my speeches, but for that slander, or grossness in it to be equal to Miriam's sin, or to deserve such a censure, I cannot yet see it, and though the Ch: by the major part, (a considerable part, near half as I am informed, dissenting,) hath inflicted it, I cannot look upon it as dispensed according to the rules of Christ. Yet I wait upon God for the discovery of truth in his own time, either to myself, or church, that what is amiss may be repented of and reformed, that his blessing and presence may be among them and upon his holy ordinances rightly dispensed, to his glory, and their present and everlasting comfort, which I heartily pray for, and am so bound, having received much good and comfort in that fellowship, though I am now deprived of it.

Q. Whether 2 witnesses testifying the same kind of words or actions at several times, known to each of them severally, and apart from each other, be sufficient proof?*

It must necessarily be understood that in this question

* The arguments of Mr. Cheever in this postscript seem to have given the fathers of New Haven some uneasiness. Mr. Davenport writes to his friend Rev. John Cotton, of Boston, May 6th, 1650, as follows, (the entire letter is printed in the "History and Genealogy of the Davenport family," by A. B. Davenport, p. 343.) * * * "One thing more give me leave to propound, and as earnestly as my modesty will permit, to importune, that you would take into your serious thoughts the question about single testimony of several persons who speak fully to the things and with concurrence therein, though not jointly in the circumstances of time and place, and to answer that logical quirk which Mr. Prudden told you of, and what other arguments you find in that postscript of Mr. Cheever, his answer to the church, and which you have elsewhere met with."

Note also the provision, with respect to evidence, in the New Haven Code of 1656, reprinted in New Haven Colonial Records, ii: 572.—C. J. H.

that kind of proof is only insisted on, which is by witness, not denying any other proof to be good, but only setting it aside in this question, the difficulty is whether 2 such witnesses be truly double proof?

The Negative is built upon these grounds following.

Grounds premised appearing to be undeniable truths.

1. No man is guilty, and punishable for sin by man, but by an act of sin, one or more committed by him, and proved against him.

2. Every act of sin proved against him by witness, must be by two at least, Deut., 19: 15, Mat., 18: 16.

3. Every act of sin hath these inseparable circumstances joined with it, time and place in particular, (*hic et nunc.*)

4. One and the same individual, particular act of sin, cannot be committed in two particular distinct times and places.

From these grounds arise these arguments and reasons following.

1. If two such witnesses prove no act of sin, then they are not sufficient.

But they prove no act of sin, ergo, they are not sufficient.

The proposition is proved from the first ground: A man is not guilty before man, but by acts of sin.

The assumption is evident. They must either prove two several acts, which they severally witness, or but one only: But they do neither; not two, for one hath no knowledge of what the other affirms, nor can give testimony to it, it may be true, or false for aught he knows; nor one only, for they two do not mutually witness to each other's testimony, but each for himself, so that each act of sin alledged by them hath but one witness only, and so is not proved.

2. Those witnesses which agree not, are not sufficient.

But two such witnesses agree not. Ergo.

The proposition is proved from Mark, 14: 56, 59. 1

John, 5: 8, their witness must be (ἰσῆ) equal, agreeing, jumping just together, like two parallels, or weights alike, they must witness one thing in the particular, for the kind hath not existence but in the individual.

Assumption is proved. They agree not. 1. In inseparable circumstances, which many times add great weight to the case, and without the knowledge of them there cannot be a just proportion of punishment to the sin. 2. Their not agreeing in these circumstances being inseparable, doth demonstrate that they agree not in the substance, from the 3rd and 4th ground, and so they agree not at all, and do not give any proof to each other. Which may further appear thus. If they agree in the same particular substance, viz, particular act, or speech, or word, which they both bear witness to, then if what one affirms be true, what the other affirms must needs be true also, for it is one; and if what one affirms be false, what the other affirms must be false also; they must necessarily stand and fall together. But this is not so, for one may speak truth, and the other speak that which is false, therefore they do not agree in the substance, they speak not one thing, for one thing cannot in the same respect and sense be both true and false.

3. If 2 such witnesses agreeing in the same kind of sin, though not in the particular act, be sufficient, then whatever other difference there is, it will not hinder. As suppose, they charge a man with slander or whispering in the same words, but against two several men, why should it not be proof, they testify one thing, that is whispering; nay, though it were different kinds of slander, as calling one man liar, another deceiver, it may be said to be one, it is slander, or whispering; and so in any other sin, stealing for instance, if they charge a man with stealing from several men, and in several ways, from one man by defrauding in bargaining, from another by unjust withholding his goods, it is both stealing, why should it not be just

proof; so for time, if there be never so many years distance between the acts they testify of the same kind, it is but a circumstance, it must not hinder the proof. I see not what just ground can be given to maintain a difference in the particular act to be no impediment to due proof, and not to allow it further, to a difference in the particular object, viz, persons to whom wrong is done, or special kind of sin also, so there be agreement in the general kind, viz, breach of the same command. For, though the difference may be said to be greater in one than the other, yet the arguing force in the nature of it, though not in degree, is alike. For it is but probable in both, and therefore not sufficient. He that hath slandered a man to one man must not necessarily be concluded to have done it to another; nor doth one evince the other; it may be probable. And so it is also probable, that he that wrongs one man in his name, or state, may wrong another man; and he that wrongs a man in his name in one kind, may do it in another: but this is not certain proof, a matter established, as that which is testified by two witnesses every way agreeing by God's ordinance is accounted to be.

4. This opens a gap for false witnessing. For two such witnesses if false cannot be so easily detected as two other witnessing together, which is thought to be a reason of God's appointment of two witnesses. Besides it gives encouragement to unjust public accusing of men for private offences upon one witness, in hope another such witness may come in: and for such a witness contrary to Mat. 18, to give in public evidence against a man for private sin, as experience hath shown.

Ob. Then there is no way of punishing that malignant sin of whispering.

Ans. 1. Many vile sins destructive to the Commonwealth are never punished, because never discovered, yet none will blame God's providence that they are not brought to light.
2. Whispering, when it can be no otherwise proved, is not

discovered for punishment, but is in that respect yet a secret sin. 3. Whispering is capable of proof, in the nature of it, as well as any other sin, he that slanders in the hearing but of one, can and may do it in the hearing of two together. The evil is the same, though the name and notion (and that not necessarily neither) may differ. 4. If men attend God's rules, the whisperer can do no man hurt in the event, for he ought to be rebuked and not to be believed, and then the person's name is not hurt, but in the whisperer himself. Lastly, whispering, when proved, as other sins, may be punished according to the nature of it, but neither that, nor any other sin, though of a more heinous nature, can be punished by man, when not duly proved. And in this case to vary from the general rule, without allowance from the word, will not be safe nor acceptable in the sight of God.

A LETTER FROM GOV. JOHN WINTHROP,

RESPECTING THE PAYMENT OF EXPENSES FOR OBTAINING

THE CONNECTICUT CHARTER.

[The publishing committee are indebted to Hon. George Bancroft, for a copy of the following letter, from the original formerly in the possession of the late Isaac P. Davis, Esq., of Boston. It was labelled, "John Winthrop to Samuel Wyllys," but probably was addressed to Capt. John Talcott, treasurer of the Colony.]

LONDON, *May 13, 1662.*

SIR :

I must referr to this bearer Mr. Woolcott to lett you know, what I might certify more at large concerning the full issue of the charter for our colony of Connecticutt which hath now newly passed the great seale,* and is as full and large for bounds and priviledges as could be desired, so as I hope all will be well satisfied about the charge that has been necessary for the affecting and prosecuting a business of such consequence, which is to the full settlement of the Colony for them and their posterity. I have now also settled a way for the payment of those monies which have been here expended, having agreed with some merchants who have supplied me with monies here to be paid the same there in corn, for which besides bills upon yourself, which will not be sent till their ship arrives there with you for the taking in the corn. Both myselfe and my son stand engaged for the timely and punctual performance of the agreement, which is this, that there shall be

* "This day, May 10th, in the afternoon, the Patent for Connecticut was sealed." MS. note by Gov. Winthrop, in an almanac for 1662; (communicated by Charles Deane, Esq.) The charter bears date, April 23.

delivered to them at New London, before the last of November next, aboard their ship which they shall send for it, two thousand bushels of wheat and twelve hundred bushels of peas. If the ship does not arrive so early in November that it may be put aboard out of the vessels that carry it down, you and your son are to help carry aboard so much as shall be landed; (you will chamber it.) I desire you to take such order about the providing of it, that it may be thrashed in due time and so dried that it may be made merchantable, and that it may be transported and lie ready at New London for the ship that will be sent, which otherwise will be a great damage and discredit to us all. Not else at present but my loving remembrance to yourself and Mrs. Talcot, with your mother, and all our neighbors and friends, Mr. John Allin, and Sergeant Spenser, whom I desire you to certify that we can yet do nothing about his business.

If there be not the full proportion of peas, there is liberty to make it up in wheat, at one and sixpence the bushel. The peas are to be at two shillings sixpence: the wheat at one and sixpence. This is the easiest way I could possibly attain for procuring monies, and a less quantity they would not agree for, because a fly must be sent purposely for it.

Your loving friend

JOHN WINTHROP.

[The following bill drawn on the colony treasurer by Gov. Winthrop,—order,—and receipt,—are recorded in the first volume of the Colony Records of Lands &c., page 301. These supply the names of the merchants who advanced the money, and show the completion of the payment.]

Laus Deo. In London, A. D. 3d May, 1662.

At or before the thirtieth day of November next ensuing the date hereof, pay this my second Bill, my first and third not being paid, pay unto Mr. Edward Cowes, Giles Silves-

ter, and William Maskeline, or their assignes, at New London in New England, aboard such ship or vessell as the said Edmund, Giles and William shal order to receaue the same, Two Thousand Bushels, Winchester measure, of good and well-conditioned wheat, at three shillings and sixpence p bushell, and Twelve hundred Bushells of pease, at two shillings and sixpence p bushell, all which amount vnto Five hundred pounds sterling, being for the like valew receaued of them here and taken vpon the Letter of Credit you gave mee in the behalf of that Colony, bearinge date the 16 day of June, 1661,* a copy whereof will accompanie this. Make them punctuall payment. Adieu.

JOHN WINTHROP.

To Mr. John Talcot of Hartford,

Treasurer to the Colony of Connecticut.

Subscribed and acknowledged by the said
Jno Winthrop in the presence of me Frederick
Ixem, sole notary publick to and for our
soveraigne Lord the King.

FREDERICK IXEM.

1662 Rs. Angl.

Accepted, November 14, 1662: New England.

p me JOHN TALCOT.

LONDON, *May* 21, *A. Dom.* 1662.

SIR:—Bee pleased to pay or cause to be paid the quantity of bushels of Wheat and Pease mentioned in this Bill vnto Mr. Phillip Best and Edward Paule, aboard the John and Robert, of this place, and this is the order of

Your Loving friends,

GILES SILVESTER

WILLIAM MASKELINE

EDMUND COWES.

* "The Treasurer is appointed to sign the Lr of Credit, whereby the Governor may be authorized to charge Bills on the Colony to the value of £500 according to former act of the Court."—Col. Rec. of Conn., I. 370.

Received the first of December, 1662, the full of this Bill,

p PHILLIP BEST,
EDWARD PAULE.

Transcribed and extracted out of the originall bill and order and receipt endorsed on the said Bill, and therewith compared, and is a true record of the same, entred this Mrch 6. 1664 and attested

p DANIEL CLARK, Secretary.

The PEOPLE'S
RIGHT TO ELECTION
Or *ALTERATION of GOVERNMENT in Connecticut,*

ARGUED

In a LETTER;

By *Gershom Bulkeley Esq*; one of their Majesties Justices of
the peace in the County of *Hartford*.

Together with a Letter to the said *Bulkeley*,
from a Friend of his in the B A Y.

To which is added, The *Writing* delivered to *James Russell*
of *Charlestown Esq*; warning him and others concerned,
not to meet to Hold a Court at *Cambridge*, within the
county of *Middlesex*.

By *Thomas Greaves Esq*; Judge of their Majesties Inferior
Court of Pleas and one of their Majesties Justices of the
peace within the said County.

And also his ANSWER to Mr. *Broadstreete* and the Gentle-
men mett at the *Town-house* in *Boston* concerning the same.
Published for the Information & Satisfaction of their Majesties
loyall (but abused) Subjects in NEW ENGLAND.

Philadelphia, Printed by Assignes of *William Bradford*,

Anno 1689.

[This very rare pamphlet is reprinted from a copy belonging to the collection of George Brinley Esq., of Hartford.]

To the honourable Robert Treat Esq; and to the Worshipfull James Bishop, William Jones & James Fitch, and other the Worshipful Justices of the severall Counties: and any other whom it may concern, assembling at Hartford: To advise concerning Holding of a Court of Election by Virtue of and according to the late Patent.

Sirs. I Am at this time (by reason of bodily Infirmary) unable to wait upon you in a suitable manner, or to maintain discourse as this Occasion may require, or indeed to write much, yet (considering the Exigency of the case) I will do what I can, and apply myself to you as followeth.

[2.] And to prevent all prejudice against what I have to say, I shall premise thus much, *Viz.* That tho' I was no freeman of the Colony, yet I never was, nor am an Enemy to our ancient Charter-priviledges, and could they now be regularly Recovered, I should rejoice in it, and if I knew any thing whereby to justify the present proceeding, I should not conceal it; but we must not do evil that good may come of it.

I am not at all ambitious of keeping my place, it is a Burthen and no Benefit to me; an orderly discharge will be very welcome, and the sooner the better; if I could absolve myself from my oath, it had not been to do now; so that I am under no Temptation on these accounts. Tis onely the Trust reposed in me, and my reall desire of the Common good which puts me on, very well knowing, that nothing but ill Will is like to be my reward.

Further, I am sensible of mine inability to wade in those great Affaires, and would not abound in my own sence, nor in any sort take upon nor go about to teach those of whom I had need to learne; yet, *Plus vident oculi quam oculus.* Many eyes see more than one: and a weak eye may chance to see that which a better over-looks. And I having with

others, (tho much against my own Inclination) received his Majesties Commission as a Justice of the Peace for the County of *Hartford*, and having at that time taken the Oaths of Supremacy and Obedience, as also that of a justice, for keeping of the Law, the Conservation of the Peace, and the quiet and good Government of the people, it did concern me to Consider the Duty by these meanes so strongly bound upon me, and accordingly I have since that time done my poor endeavour to inform my self in the Laws, that I might discern between Right and Wrong for the good of the people.

Therefore, in sence of my duty to God, the King, your selves, and all his Majesties good people here, (for I am debtor to you all, and am embarqued in the same Bottom with you; and do account it my Duty to seek the peace of the place where I live) therefore (I say) I shall not (and I think, I ought not) be wholly silent at this time, but according to that little which I have learned and observed, I shall modestly, and yet freely and plainly, offer a few Considerations to you which respect the present Affaire, desiring you neither to accept nor reject what I say, because it comes from me, but according to its own merit; for the matter in hand seems to me to be of very great Weight, and I beseech you to consider and ponder it thoroughly before you engage in it, forasmuch as an Irregularity in this Proceeding, may be the beginning of great Calamity and Woe to this people.

[3.] The present Motion seems to me to be not only illegal, needless and unprofitable, but indeed very criminal dangerous and hurtful to us, and that upon these Considerations.

First, Before you can Regularly (or by Virtue of and according to your late Patent) hold a Court of Election, you must be first Restored to your former politick Capacity, whereby you were under the Name of His Majesties Governour and Company of the English Colony of *Connecticott*,

Persons able and capable in the Law to plead and be impleaded &c; and to Have, Take, Require and possesse Lands and other Hereditaments &c. of which, that Priviledge of *Government* was a principall one given by your Patent.

For I reason thus, If you do now assume the Government, and proceed to Election, you do it either in a private and personal Capacity, or in a publick and politick Capacity, I suppose you do not pretend to the First, for that is not to do it according to your patent, and besides it is criminal.

For Subjects in *private* Capacity to take upon them to set up and exercise Government as they see cause, is direct *Rebellion* and Treason. Therefore you must do it in a publick and politick Capacity, but this you cannot do till you are restored to such a Capacity, in which indeed you once were, but now are not: which I thus prove from the Patent it self.

Our late Sovereign King *Charles* the Second, did in the year 1662, by his Letters Patents for himself, his Heires and Successours, Ordaine and Constitue the therein named Patentees, and the then present and future Freemen, &c. One Body politick and Corporate in fact and Name, by the name of, *His Governour and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America*; and that by the same Name they and their Successours shall and may have perpetuall Succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable in the law to plead and be impleaded, to Answer and be Answered unto, to defend and be defended in all Suits, Causes, Quarrels, Matters, Actions and things of what kind and nature soever. And also to Have, Take, Possesse, Acquire and Purchase Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments &c. This is the expresse Letter of that Clause of the Patent, whereby you were constituted one body politick and Corporate, able and capable in the Law as aforesaid; and whereby also, you were by the name of

Governour and Company to have perpetuall Succession, or to be perpetuated by annuall Election, at least, as the Patent afterwards shews, and upon this Clause do all priviledges afterwards granted depend.

But now you are not such a Body politick and Corporate capable in Law as aforesaid, for you know, that by the late Transaction between his Majesty and his then Governour [4] and Company of the late Colony of *Connecticut*, | the Government is changed and taken into his Majesties hands, and the late Colony of *Connecticot* annexed to the Bay, the Governour and one of the Assistants made and sworn Councillours and Judges under this new Government, the late Deputy-Governour and the rest of the Assistants, made and sworn Justices in the severall Counties under the same new Government, and this a year and a half agone: How legall these proceedings were we need not now dispute; but this it is in fact: Hence there is no such thing in fact and name as the Governour and Company of the Colony of *Connecticut*. And hence the Corporation is dissolved and made incapable in the law to plead and be impleaded &c. or to have and take or possesse any Hereditaments, and consequently incapable to Take, Erect and Exercise Government. For neither the Governour alone, nor the Company alone is the Corporation, nor capable to plead or be impleaded as such, but the Governour and Company together. If they Claime or Take, they must Claime or Take together, if they Sue, they must Sue together, and if they be sued, they must be sued together and not apart. Besides, by the meanes aforesaid the Succession is interrupted and broken off, for by the same name of the Governour and Company of &c. you were to have perpetuall Succession, and that Succession to be perpetuated by annuall Election of the Governour, Deputy-Governour, &c. which hath not been. Therefore in your present state you are not Successours of the former Corporation; and consequently cannot take the priviledges untill restored to your

former politick Capacity: and (to add that) you cannot restore your selves to it, for that is inconsistent with your Subjection to the Supream power.

By all this it doth appeare, That as there is no Governour or Deputy-Governour to give Order for the Assembling of the Company, (without which their Assembling for such an end is unlawful) so there are no Freemen capable of choosing or of being chosen; for if there be not a Corporation capable, there cannot be capable Freemen of that Corporation: And if in this state you proceed to Election, there is no Freeholder or free Subject of *England*, belonging to this Late Colony, but hath as good a Right, and is as capable of Choosing as any of you, because there is nothing to hinder it, and this the people see. Also there are now no Assistants enabled by lawfull Authority (without which none may do it) to take the Oath of the Governour or Deputy-Governour when chosen; all which things the Patent doth expressly require.

All this seems necessarily to follow from the very words of the Patent, and how it can be avoided I cannot see: but [5] that I may not seem to vent ¶ my own Notions onely, I shall briefly give the words of Sir *Edward Coke* as sound a Lawyer and as great a friend to the *English* Subjects Liberties as ever *England* knew, *In the Case* (saith he) of *Mayor and Commonality* (which is the same in effect as Governour and Company) *Where there is no Mayor the Commonality cannot make claim; because they have neither ability nor Capacity to take or sue any Action.* [*Coke upon Lit.* pag. 263.] so that without a Governour or Deputy-Governour you cannot so much as Claime the Government by Law, much lesse enter upon it. And therefore we see that in the Patent, the King doth not Constitute onely a number of Freemen, and make them immediately capable to take such and such priviledges, and give them power rudely to run together whensoever some factious spirits shall make a bustle, and so in a tumult to choose them a Governour and

Magistrates; No, but he first creates them a Body politick consisting of Governour and Company, and by that name makes them capable in Law to take the priviledges which he thereafter gives. And he himselfe nominates and appoints the first Governour or Deputy-Governour for the time being, to give order for the Assembling of the Company upon all occasions (whether for Election or otherwise) and in such orderly manner gives them leave to assemble as often as need requireth.

Secondly, (Which doth also confirm the former) Before you can hold a Court of Election according to the Patent, you must have a General Court or Assembly constituted according to the Patent: the reason is, because the Patent doth ordaine, that the Governour, Deputy-Governour, and Assistants &c. be annually chosen, not without, but in the said Generall Court: concerning this matter the King, in his Patent, ordains three things.

1. That every Second Thursday in May and October (or oftner if need be) there shall be a Generall Assembly. 2. That this Generall Court or Assembly, consist of the Governour or Deputy-Governour, and at least six of the Assistants, and of the Freemen or their Deputyes. 3. That at least once in every year (Viz.) on the second Thursday in May, the Governour Deputy-Governour and Assistants of the said Company and other Officers &c. shall be in the said Generall Court and Assembly to be held from that day or time newly chosen for the yeare ensueing &c. Thus saith the Patent expressly: But you have now no Governour, Deputy-Governour, nor Assistants, therefore can have no such Generall Court or Assembly; therefore can hold no Court of Election by virtue of or according to your Patent. Examine the Patent and see &c.

From these two Considerations it appears, that if you do proceed to Election in your present state, you will but [6] deceive your selves and trouble | the Country to no purpose: all that you will do, will be void in Law: the

Government you think to set up will be but an imaginary Government, a shadow without a substance, Magistrates without Authority, for you can give them none, neither does the Patent give them any. A Government that cannot determine the Present Government, nor vacate the Commissions that have been given out from the King, and are still in force, nor exercise any Authority to effect: for their Authority may justly (yea, ought to) be denied by every one, and they cannot enforce it, without Lawlesse Usurpation and Tyrannie. 2. You will but trouble your *selves*, for you will be immediately liable to a *Quo-Warranto*, and can give no account by what Authority you do these arbitrary things.

Thirdly, The Government is now in the King's hands, (and here, that no person may cavill, the word *King* may be understood indefinitely for the King his Heires and Successours, for the Heir or Successour is King, when the Time of Succession is come. But I say, The Government is now in the King's hands, and it will be wisdom to proceed in a regular way, if you desire to recover it. For in regard of the dignity of his person, the King has by Law a Prerogative above the Subject for the keeping of what he hath. Hence, a man may not enter upon the King as he may upon his Fellow subject; much lesse may he enter upon the King by Force. I do not now enter upon that Question, *How far those that are by and under the King entrusted with publick Power and Office, for the defence of the Lawes and Libertyes of the Subject, may, in case, use force for that end; and the people under them at their Cull and Command*; This is another Question, and not our case, and those that desire satisfaction, may consult those that have written weightily upon that Subject. It is one thing to defend the Lawes and Libertyes of the Subject. This some think *some* may do, and this defends the Government: But it is another thing to subvert and change and take possession of the Government it self, this none may do. And

tho' some may say, *But the Government is illegally taken into the King's hand, and it is one of our great Liberties*: I shall say something to that by and by.

Therefore to let that Question pass untoucht. I said that the Subject may not enter upon the King with force: now you cannot enter upon the King in point of Government, but it is with force, for all power of Government implies force antecedent for the setting of it up, and concomitant for the Support and Defence of it, and partly because you cannot do it in this way of Election without Multitude, which is *Force* in the judgment of the Law, as well as *Manus armate*, or Force of Arms, so that if you do it, it must necessarily be done with force; now to enter [7] upon the | King in point of Government with Force, what is it but to invade the Crown? And Kings do account their Heads and Crownes to be very neare each to other; and that he that attempts against the one, attempts against the other.

This Affaire therefore doth touch the Crowne, and nearly concerne your Allegiance, and is worthy to be well considered, for it is of dangerous consequence; 'tis dangerous to those that shall Choose, and be Chosen, and Accept; dangerous to all that shall any waies contrive, counsell, abett or conceale, (tho' here is hardly room for Concealing, (*A City set on a Hill cannot be hid*, and these things cannot be done in a Corner) 'tis dangerous to your selves and Posterity, yea dangerous to us all, and doth require more skill in Law and State affaires than is very common among us, to make the way plain to a safe proceeding in it; for I cannot find that the Law doth use any softer Language concerning such Actions, than that of *Tumults, Insurrections, rebellious Riots, Sedition, Rebellion, Treason, &c.*

Gentlemen, I hope you will be carefull to keep at a due distance from such things which are wont to be *Bitternesse in the end*. 'Tis an easy matter to run too farr; And the worst is wont to be made of such things when they come to Tryall.

Fourthly, You may here consider that the Government was not taken into the King's hand without your own Submission, and some sort (at least) of Consent; whence possibly there was not so much Illegality in that proceeding as some do imagine. I was not personally acquainted with those Transactions, and therefore cannot undertake much in this; but this I suppose will not be denied, that if parties be at Law (whether King and subject, or subject and subject) and instead of standing a Tryal, they agree upon Conditions, and the Conditions are performed, and so the Action be let fall, this is not illegall: and if afterwards either party be sensible of inconveniency, will it be fair and honest for him to say it was illegall, and thereupon breake his Agreement? The *Inhabitant of the Holy Hill swears to his own hurt, and changeth not*. You were at Law with the King, and its like you thought it would be a great Charge to maintaine the Action, and it might go against you at last, and you should be annexed to *Yorke*; and hereupon you submit to the King's Wisdome and pleasure, begging that you may be annexed to the *Bay*; the King performs this condition, and lets fall his Action, Demands the Government, and you yield it up to him; if now you finde it prejudiciall, you must *lay your hand upon your mouth*, and not take it again by force. We must not think to leave and take when we please.

Fifthly, None are allowed by the Law to be Judges in [8] their own Case, | no not the King himself: But if you proceed in this manner, you take upon you, in your own case to judge the King, to condemn and take possession, which in reason will never be borne, for Princes are as tender of their Prerogative as Subjects can be of their Liberties.

But to abate the Force of these Considerations, some say, *We heare there is no King, Regall Power is Extinct, &c.* I answer, 'tis no pleasant Objection or Subject to speak to, but yet the Necessity of the present time seems to require

a word or two to prevent these unwise and unwary speeches which do not become Subjects. Therefore I say first, That Rumours are but a sandy foundation to ground such assertions, or to change and build Government upon, we have yet nothing of Record concerning the King. 2. This doth not help our case at all, for if it were indeed so, that the *Sceptre were departed*, you have then nothing to do with the Patent; 'Tis only the *King's* Governour and Company that hath Interest in the Patent, and the King grants it onely for Himselfe, his Heires and Successours, if there be none of these, your Patent and Estate in it are expired without any more to do. But, 3^{ly}. The King is a Royall Body politick which hath Succession whereby the Crown passeth not onely to heires by *Blood*, but to Successours also; in which respect it is said, That in Judgement of Law, *The KING never dyes*. There is allwaies a King.

But others say, *What shall we do? there is no Government; the Governour who is the Head of it is imprisoned, and hath Surrendred his Government*. I answer, It is a very great Errour and proceeds from ignorance to think that *there is no Government*, and it containes so many *inconveniencies* and *mischiefs* in it, as it is not safe to mention them; so long as there is any supream power, there must needs be a Government. 2. The Governour is not the Head of the Government but the *King*. And the Government is not his properly and originally but the *King's*. The Governour is but a Minister of the King in the Government, which Ministry it is said he hath surrendred to be secured and be disposed of by Orders that shall be received from the Crown of *England*. It will not become us to prevent these Orders and dispose of the Government otherwise our selves; but to acknowledge our subjection to that Crown, as our Neighbours would do well to do. 3. The Commissions of the Judges and Justices of the severall Counties (the Execution whereof is no small part of Government) are granted by

the Governour (its true) but not from the Governour, but from the *King*, and are derived from the Crowne; it is not from an inferiour but from a Supream power, and they do still continue in force, notwithstanding the imprisonment or Surrender of the Governour; for they are matters of [9] Record under the great Seale of the Dominion, and cannot be countermanded without matter of Record of as high a nature. You may take one instance from *Charles* the first his time, He was indeed the head of the Government; but yet notwithstanding the great Breach and long Warrs between him and his Parliament, and his long imprisonment after that, both together from 42. to the end of 48. there was still a Government, and it was his Government, and exercised by the King's Commissions as long as he lived, for they were not changed nor superseded till a year after his death, as the Histories of those times shew. So that notwithstanding all the Rumours we have had from abroad, and the Overtures at home, there is a Government still, to which we ought to submit; and that for Conscience sake. Let us not have cause to say, that *there are none that will be governed.*

Sixthly. I may desire you to consider those honoured Gentlemen who had the Rule over you under the former Government, and are now also in place under this Government, who I believe would hardly have accepted any Commission under the present Government, but for this end, that you might not be so much Ruled by strangers as otherwise you might have been, and to prevent the miseries that might follow thereupon: I am sure that this was one principall Argument that they used with me, when they saw me so averse as I was to accept, and I think the end has been so far attained, as that you ought with Thankfullness to acknowledge, that by this meanes you have escaped the greatest part of those grievances which others complain of, and not now (you think you have the staffe in your hand) to ride over their Consciences who are under Oath (from

which neither they nor you can absolve them) to execute their Commissions, and to tread them down as mire in the street: The measure that you mete may be measured to you again. Tis a golden Rule, That which you would that others should do to you, do you the same to them; and do not recompence evil for good.

Some I know reflect hard upon them for giving up the former Government; much like those that reflect upon old father *Adam*; but I will so far apologize for them, as to desire you to reflect upon your selves, for have you already forgotten that you (I mean the people) were divided in your opinions; many grudged at the charge of that *Affaire*, whence it was hard (if possible) for them *seasonably* to raise *mony* to maintaine the suite. (I my self know who were then as hot against the raising of money for that Purpose (and cry'd out it was illegall) as now hot for the Patent, and ready to cry out upon the losse of that as illegall; but I will not prejudice any man.) Others were so affraid of [10] being annexed to *Yorke*, that they thought | it the best way to submit without more a doe, so that they might be annexed to the Bay. Surely you cannot forget these things, by which (comeing from the people to their Deputyes) it is reasonable to think that the Generall Assembly was moved to make that Submission to the King, and in all Reason it was much better so, than for want of money, to have had a Judgement given against us upon a *Nihil-Dicit*, or Contempt, and it is possible, that if those who reflect so hard upon them had been under the same Circumstances, they would have done the same thing or worse. Therefore methinks they might be a little considered, and not made the scorn of the people.

Seventhly. Consider your Profession, we are all Protestants, I hope there is not a Papist in our Limits, I know not any: and we professe to believe (rejecting humane Traditions) That the word of God is the onely and sufficient Rule of Faith and Manners. And do we not there finde

that *Sure word of Prophetie, to which we may do well to take heed, as to a light that shines in a Dark place*, which doth direct and counsell us, *To fear the Lord and the King*, and not to meddle with those that are given to change, *To Keep the King's Commandment*, and that in regard of the Oath of God, *To Give unto Cesar the things that are Cesar's, and to God the things that are God's*, *To Study to be quiet, and to be subject to Principalities and powers (because they are of God) and to obey Magistrates*, *To submit ourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it to be the King as supreme, or unto Governours as unto those that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers and the praise of them that do well, for so is the will of God, that with well doing, we may put to silence the ignorance of foolish men, &c. and, Not to despise Government, nor to speake evill of Dignities?* These are sound Doctrines, and will well consist with the protestant Religion (else we had reason to be ashamed of it) and it were to be wished, That these among us who *are the salt of the earth and Light of the world* would season the people by putting them in mind (as *Paul commands Titus*) of those great Duties so necessary for these perilous days, wherein men are (as was prophesied they would be) so apt to be Traitors, heady and high minded, and to despise Government. Therefore before we proceed in this Affaire, consider what our Religion will gain by it, an Ornament or a Blott, and whether we shall not give Occasion to adversaries (that seek occasion) to blaspheme the name and speake evill of the waies of God amongst us.

Eighthly, Consider the time and state of affaires in the Christian world. If anything be true of that which comes to us it seems, it is a time wherein there is a strong engage-[11] ment to root out the Protestant Religion. ¶ *Europe* is upon this account in flames, the Ax is laid to our own Root, if it be so, it is a time wherein we had need to *strengthen the things that are weake*, to join heart and hand together against French and Pagan-Force and Cruelty, and

to unite heaven and Earth if possible, for the preservation of our selves and posterity, and for the Defence of the cause of God and his Truth with us ; surely this is no time to fall to Faction and parties, to tread down the Government that is left, (too weak already,) to disturb and obstruct the Course of Justice, To confound the Militia, that no man shall know whome to Command nor whome to Obey, and to promote private interests, and therefore set every man's hand against his Brother, unlesse we designe to ruine all. I wish there be not some Jesuit that has foisted in this Project amongst them in the Bay and us here, as the most probable way to ruin us at this time; for it is the old trade of that Diabolical sort of men by their plausible crafty Counsells, to make protestants destroy themselves, by stirring up, and fomenting divisions among them; and promoting any thing which tends thereto, the which, how naturally and necessarily they will flow from this proceeding is easy to shew : but it is better to be silent than by speaking to shew men the way which they are too ready to run into.

Ninethly. More might be said, but the last Consideration that I shall offer (and which I think may satisfy any reasonable man) is, That it is known the Country is in daily Expectation of Orders from the Crowne of *England*, for the Settling and Regulating of the Government, those Orders will either contradict or overthrow your Election, or else countenance and Encourage it:

If they overthrow it, to what end is it to hold a Court, (if we could hold a Court) to make Election, to change and turn things up-side down, and hereby put the Country (which is poor enough already) to unnecessary charge, and know not how to defray it when we have done, and to run the hazzard of displeasure from the supream power abroad, and of making Division and Mischief at home, and all for an imaginary Government, which may possibly last for a week or a moneth. *Sapiens incipit a Fine.*

If the Orders that shall come do countenance and encourage to an Election, they will be such as will enable us to it, and so we shall preserve a good Aspect abroad, and Unity and Peace at home; what need then of such Haste? These things cannot be spoken against. And the Town-Clerke of *Ephesus* could say, that these things being so, *you ought to be quiet and do nothing rashly.*

[12] But some say, We shall loose our day if we do not proceed now. I answer, There is nothing in that, for if you have sufficient Warrant from the Crowne of *England*, to enable you to the thing, you will be enabled as to a Day, and Persons, and what else is needfull which now you are not, as before was said.

But say others, If we have an Election before these Orders come, we shall be in a Capacity to capitulate, and so obtain the better termes, &c. I answer this is a great mistake, It will be a mighty Disadvantage; for it will be a wonderfull thing if you be not look'd upon and dealt with as Criminalls.

Again, Whome do you mean to Capitulate with? Surely it will be good manners for us to Aske, and not to Command; to Follow our Leaders and not to go before them.

But some think, These are small matters that will be overlook'd, and easily pardoned, we need not stand upon such nicetyes.

But I Answer how small they are will be best seen afterwards, and it is better not to need a pardon, than to presume upon getting one.

From all these Considerations I conclude, that our strength is to sit still, and therefore do advise.

That instead of moving towards an Election, the Judges and Justices in the severall Counties, considering their Commissions which they have received and the Oaths which they have taken, for the faithfull Execution of them, and Remembling that the Judgement is not man's but God's who is with them in the Judgement, they take Cour-

age and do it; and in Order thereto Unanimously Declare, that they will Maintain and Exercise the Government (in their Degree) according to their Commissions, in Conformity to the Lawes which are the Rules of their Commissions, and the true and propper Bulwarks of the Subject's just Libertyes, being carefull to do nothing contrary thereto, to the best of their understanding: and that the good People here do willingly and cheerfully submit and yield obedience to the severall Officers in their Respective places, as their Duty is, untill such time as sufficient Warrant shall come from the Crown of *England* for other Orders. And in the meane time, we all with one consent *Lift up our hearts with our hands to God in the Heavens* for a happy Composure of these Commotions in *England* and those other Kingdomes, for the Restitution, Security and propagation of the Gospell, true Religion and Worship of God, and for the preserving and establishing of the peace and liberty of his people there and here, and else where throughout the world to the glory of God.

[13] This Course is regular, innocent, offensive to none, and most safe for our selves and ours: but if the people will not be advised, I very much fear that the Issue will not be like a Tree of Life, or the desire satisfied, else truly I should not at this time have given you or my selfe this trouble.

The Opinion, and Resolution of the other Justices I know not, but for my part I am plaine, and I must declare and protest against an Election at the present, as that which is justly offensive to the supream Power, in whose hands soever it is, or shall be, and pernicious to our selves; and if the people should willfully proceed to it, it will remaine for the Justices to consider whether the Law and their Oathes don't require them to make a Record of it, and Certifie it into the Chancery, &c. But I hope there will none enforce to such things, and I pray that you may all Act under the Influence of the God of peace and Order. And

in Testimony that this is my Opinion and Advice, I have hereunto set my hand, on the eighth day of May, 1689.

GERSHOM BULKELEY.

——— *Pacem te poscimus omnes.*

Peace is the Tranquillity of Order, therefore Order is the onely right Way to peace.

A Letter to Gershom Bulkeley, Esq; (one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace in the County of Hartford) from a friend in the Bay.

Sir,

I have seen your Letter referring to the Government of *Connecticut Colony* Directed unto Col' *Treate* and other Gentlemen there, and being very well acquainted with the papers and passages you refer to and the Truth of them severally: I earnestly expected the Answer, as extreamly necessary for the Vindication of the assumed Government in your parts, if at least they mean to continue their Allegiance and Dependance upon the Crowne of *England*, or to hold their Majesties Subjects in those parts in obedience to them. But for that I heare nothing in their Defence, I must be allowed to guesse, that either those Gentlemen have [14] Orders | from their Majesties unknowne to any, thus to advance themselves, or that they mean to cast off their Dependence and Obedience to the Crown of *England*: The first of these is dishonourable to suppose, the latter will end in the utter Ruin of the English interest here, and leave us a prey to all Nations, when the wild beast shall pass by and tread down the Thistle.

But whatsoever be the Opinion or Resentment of your Gentlemen, I will assure you Sir the good people here (that are so far quitt of the fright and hurry of the late and present confusion in these parts) wish that the men of *Sechem* had hearkened unto *Jotham*, that God might have heark-

ened unto them; and fear lest the proceeding here as well as with you, being plainly represented at home, should alarm a just and wise Prince, to take some severe method to keep the people of these Colonies in a more strict Obedience to the Crowne of *England* than will agree with our present licentious and ungovern'd frame; there being amongst us men not of the least interest that daily say, they will not be shuffled out of their Allegiance.

When it shall be seen and understood that the Noise of a French PLOT, and a Maqua's PLOT, A Plot to BURN the TOWNE of BOSTON and to MASSACRE the PEOPLE, neither have nor ever had the least shadow of truth, but a pure *Malicious Invention* onely, to persuade the Common-people into an ill Opinion of those appointed to rule and Govern them, and whom in Duty and Conscience they ought to obey, and being in that manner amused were pushed and hurried into such a Rising and Convulsion of the Government, without ever considering the effect:

And when it shall be told (as now too truly it may) that the Effect of these changes, are the total Subversion of their Majesties Government, the Losse of the Garrison at *Pemaquid*, the County of *Cornwall*, the *Province of Main* and other parts, Severall hundreds of their Majesties subjects, the Fishery and Lumber trade, the Running away of many of our people, who turn Pirates and do their Countrymen and neighbours the same Mischiefs that the *Algerines* do upon the Coasts of the Christians, whilst their Majestie's Ship of Warre is dismantled and made uselesse, the most unjust, long, and cruell Confinement and imprisonment of the Governour, (who was both capable and active on all occasions for the publick good and safety of the Country) severall of the Councill, and other persons imploy'd in publick Office in the Government, (an Act, for which the *American* world can shew no Example or Parallell) and the Committing of the greatest Routs and Riots, even on the Sabbath day, and many other inconveniences

that daily grow upon us: surely all sober and thinking men cannot but see the Folly and Errour of these things, [15] and wish that day had never been, which I have occasioned so great mischiefs and miseries, of which we all see the Beginning, but none can tell the end.

Amongst the many and false *Rumours and Aspersions* cast upon his *Excellency* the *Governour*, and spread abroad to bring him into Disreputation with his *Prince*, and make him odious to the Common People, I finde one (not of the least) taken notice of by you (very well answered and made of no Weight) which doubtless Influenced some and was a meanes to withdraw and delude others, but do not perceive by your Writeing that you were satisfied in the Falsity as well as the Weaknesse of that Assertion.

Therefore that you may be rightly informed in that particular, I must tell you, That the Peoples takeing to Armes, was wholly a Surprise to *His Excellency*, and that untill they were actually so, he had not the least Advice or Intimation thereof, and used no other meanes, but by the force of his Authority endeavoured to Satisfie them; And to that end Hearing that many of the Councill were at the Councill-Chamber, where (it being the ordinary Councill-Day) they were to meet, (and some particularly by him sent for from *Salem* and other parts to be there) *His Excellency* went to them, and desired their Assistance to pacify the people then in Armes, offering on his part to do what might be proper for His Majesties Service and the Good and Wellfare of his Subjects here: but severall others of the Cheife of the Towne and Magistrates in the late Government being designedly met there, instead of Complying with *his Excellencies* Proposals, and to *Support and Main-taine the Government*, they lent the Crowd their arme to shake the Tree, and made *his Excellency* a Prisoner in the Councill-Chamber, and soon after some of the *Councill* and other officers that waited on him: An Act much like that of *Brutus* to *Cæsar*, abating the difference of the Person, and

that they did not *stab* him; but kept him a Prisoner to undergo worse Miseryes.

After *his Excellency* was *thus Confined*, he was often pressed with Threats to give Order for the Surrender of the *Fort* and *Castle*, which he absolutely *Refused*, and never gave any Order for the Surrender of either, but they were *Forced from the officers* that had the Command of them: If this be a *Surrender of the Government*, you and all prudent men may judge: I am sure (as you have well observed) the Law gives it quite other Terme.

His Excellency had sufficient Authority and Orders from the Crowne of *England* to secure the *Government*, which (no doubt) he would have done, had all those in place dis-[16] charged their Duties, and the People continued | their Obedience and Subjection: He wanted not further Orders from *England* for that purpose, nor had he occasion to appoint Trustees, the *King* had appointed and intrusted such as He thought were sufficient. But it was wonderfull to see, with what a *Strong Delusion* the people were possessed at that time; and thought they had with their *Thousands* obtained a mighty Victory over *Ten* or *Twelve naked persons*, and therein *done God good Service*. The Strength of Government consists in the Obedience of the People, and when that Duty is not Regarded the Government is soon Overthrown, and all turned into *Anarchy* and Confusion; of which we have now a sad Example: for what between an *Imaginary Government* and the Fury of the *Mobile* it is hard to *know who is uppermost*.

I have alwaies considered the Ministry of this Country as that which the people came into this Wilderness to see, and I hope it shall never be a *Reed shaken with the wind*, and their present influence in all parts of the Country to move the people to bethink themselves of their Causlesse and unaccountable Prejudices, Wrath and Rage, their ungodly deeds, and hard Speeches one against another; and to dispose them to their duties and Obedience to their Maj-

esties Government as established and appointed over them from the Crown of *England*, and that they would prove themselves to be *Children that will not lye*, that God may become their Saviour; is humbly offered as a great part of their Province.

I am ignorant whether from any in these parts you have been written unto since your letter was made publick here, but I am sure your Reasons will be found true, agreeable to Religion and Law, and what you have said against an Election, is as true against an Assumption; and what is true of the Avoidance of the Charter of Connecticut, is much more true of that of the Massachusetts, and how a dependant part of the English Nation can legally come at Government, at least the Coercive part of it, without a Grant from the Crowne, being not to be found in the ordinary Readings of the Law; may be enquired for at *Delphos*.

We often say, that *every man has a pope in his belly*, but I hope nobody pretends to have a *King* there, whatever Sovereignty men take to themselves of opinions in Religion, the Government expects by private persons to be treated with more Distance and Difference, and will certainly be obeyed.

Sir I have known you long a true Lover of your Country, of Integrity and Service in your place and Station, and account your plainnesse to your Countrymen in this great [17] Affaire, as the best Service you could | offer them, and am deeply sorry if any other Opinion be taken thereof amongst the people, however I perceive you have what you expected: and the Rewards of Virtue and public Service are not so soon nor easily gotten.

That all these things may have a happy Composure, and *Their Majesties* Subjects in this their Dominion a due and true Sence of their Duty and Allegiance (which can onely make these Plantations happy and flourish) I am very sure is your desire as well as of (Sir) your Friend and Servant &c.

The Writeing Delivered to *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; by *Thomas Graves* Esq; Judge of their Majesties Inferiour Court of pleas, and one of their Majesties Justices of the Peace, within the County of *Middlesex*.

To *James Russell* of *Charlestowne* Esq; to be communicated to any others that are in like manner with your self concerned herein.

Sir. *Forasmuch as I am credibly informed, that your self with some other pretended Magistrates do intend on the first Tuesday in October next, to meet together at Cambridge to keep a pretended Court of Judicature, not having any lawful authority from our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary enabling you so to do, I therefore considering the obligation lyeing upon me, by the Commission to the judge of the inferiour Court of Pleas in said County, both from the Crowne of England; neither of which (altho' I have by the late Tumults (not yet stilled) been hindred from executing the power therein to me committed) is yet legally vacated, or superseded: I can do no lesse to show my Loyalty to the Crowne of England than to signify unto you, that any such Meeting can be look'd upon no otherwise than as contrary to the peace of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King William and Queen Mary their Crowne and Dignity: and therefore I must on their Majesties behalfe warne you, that you presume not to assemble at Cambridge or any other place within this County, for any such unlawfull purpose aforesaid, but that you do at all times bear good Faith and Allegiance to their sacred Majesties, as you will answer the contrary at your peril.*

Dated in Charlestowne this 21st day of September in the first yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, Annoq Dom. 1689.

[18] The Answer of *Thomas Greaves* Esq., to Mr. *Broadstreete* and the Gentlemen met at the Town-house in *Boston* concerning the aforesaid Writing.

Mr. Thomas Greaves being summoned to make his appearance at Boston, on the 24 of Septemb. 1689. at which time Mr. Broadstreete produced a paper which was shewed Mr. Greaves, demanding if he knew it, (who answered he did) it was proposed for a Reading, but Mr. Greaves made answer, They need not give themselves that Trouble, for he fully knew the Contents and owned it to be his Act. But it was Read; after the Reading Mr. Broadstreete made a Speech to Mr. Greaves, in fine saying, He would say no more till Mr. Greaves made Answer; which he had ready prepared in Writing, as followeth Viz.

As to the paper delivered to Mr. James Russell I judge I did but my duty in it, and therefore cannot in conscience recede from it, and I shall be ready to answer King William and Queen Mary whensoever they or any authorized from them shall call me to account for the same. I am sworne to the Crown of England, and your selves have proclaimed King William and Queen Mary to be the rightful Sovereigns of the Realmes and Territories belonging thereunto; Therefore I cannot own any Lawfull Authority in any untill I be legally informed that they have Commission from their Sacred Majestyes.

THOMAS GREAVES.

FINIS.

Their Majesties COLONY
OF
CONNECTICUT
in New-England
VINDICATED,

From the Abuses

Of a Pamphlet, Licensed and printed at *New-York* 1694.
Intituled,
Some Seasonable Considerations for the Good People of Connecticut.

By an Answer Thereunto.

Exod. 22. 28. *Thou shalt not Raile upon the Judges; neither Speak Evil of the Ruler of thy People.*

Prov. 10. 18. *He that Dissembleth Hatred with Lying Lips, and he that Invented a Slander is a Fool.*

Prov. 14. 8. *In the mouth of the Foolish is the Rod of Pride: but the Lips of the wise preserve them.*

BOSTON in NEW-ENGLAND.

Printed by *Bartholomew Green.* Anno Dom. 1694.

[This scarce pamphlet is reprinted from a copy belonging to George Brinley, Esq., of this city, the latter pages of which being mutilated, the deficiency has been kindly supplied, by permission, from a copy belonging to the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.]

Hartford, April. 23d. 1694.

THE Governour and Assistants met, do Order this
Answer to the Pamphlet Intituled, [*Some Seasonable
Considerations for the Good People of Connecticut*] to be forth-
with Printed.

ROBERT TREAT, *Governour.*

JOHN ALLYN, *Secretary.*

To the READER.

COURTEOUS READER,

THIS small Tract, must chiefly own its Perusal; To thy willingness to hear an Asperssed People (and Their Majesties Subjects) Vindicated, from almost Unparraled Abuses. We were necessitated to its Publication, by a Pamphlet written (as it is intimated in it) by one of this Colony of Connecticut: and Licensed and Printed at New-York in the present Year 1694. Which being spread abroad into the World, and so also will lye to Posterity to our Defamation. It was thought our Duty & Interest to give it an Answer; and not by Silence to be Accessory to our own (so great) Wrongs: Let the Candid Reader Consider the Wise Mans Intimation, That in the Answering of some men there is a sort of being like them inevitable. Wherefore we Advertise, That the Real or seeming Harshness of our Answer, is not in Revenge but for our Just Defence & Vindication. To the Remedy of a Cancerous Humour something (yea much) of a Proportionable Accrimony ought to be allowed; what thereby of Reproof falls on our Impachers is Accidental, to our endeavour. We have not departed from Truth, Shuned any thing of Strength, nor misrepresented him whom we answer; in any thing we know of: and as the Reader, if he hath that Pamphlet may find: We were put upon what we have herein done by the call of some highly concerned for the Colony, as well as the Occasion it self given. Our plain way (in this able & curious Age) of Writting, has no Apology, but what the kind Reader will make for men, who have so little Occasion as we have to improve the PRESS. Some may think we complain too much; let the Occasion be Consid-

ered, and it may be seen that our Stroke is heavier than our Groaning, Job 23. 2. To those that have Injured us by that Book, we would wish them no worse than Repentance of it, and Pardon for it. The Lord is Righteous in all this & other Evils that have come on us, for we have Sinned against Him.

J. A. W. P.

An Answer to A
PAMPHLET,

Intituled,

“Some Seasonable Considerations for the Good people of
“Connecticut, *Printed at New-York. 1694.*

IT becomes an Honest Writer, to introduce his Book into the World, with a Title fitting the Scope and Intendment of it: But whosoever hath Perused this we are answering would rather have thought, such a Title as this, Proper to it:

Viz.

1. Unreasonable Essayes, to Represent *Connecticut* to be Inconsiderate, Irreligious, Rebelious &c. or something Equivalent; which is the Argument of the Book, as is but too manifest by it. Whither under this Pretence of *Seasonable Advice* there be not the greatest Violence and Injury, offered to the Reputation, and Interest of *Connecticut*: will be in part seen, by what we have to say on this account. We would Unmask it therefore, only with this intimation here, that another thing than *Seasonable Advice* to us, is intended, and prosecuted in that Piece.

[6] 2. As to its Seasonableness: It is evidently otherwise; the cause therein Agitated, depending now before Their Majesties, and not Issuable by a *Pamphleters* Advice; which is wholly disproportionate to that concern: yet indeed in some respects, it may be very Seasonable: namely, to stir Factions (though it hath missed that too as yet) and to make us odious to the World (which seems to be mainly intended in it) and to prejudice our cause (which he that Wrote might have been too late, for had he staid the Result)

in *England*; and if Occasion serve, for after Severities; this is a Seasonable fore-condemning of us: If these, and the like, make it Seasonable, and Suiting its writers, and Licensers designs upon us, Seasonable it is. But it may appear, that the whole work in its design and management hath little of Justice or Charity, whatever it hath of the contrary.

3. The Epithet of Good People, he gives here; he utterly takes away, and contradicts all along after; the kindness of it here therefore is worthy no notice, but onely, that in his Title he begins not Sincerely.

We must come to the work it self: he saith,

PAMPHLET. *Advice was given us in the Year 1689. when we were about to make our Revolution (as tis called) and for ought I know, it had been good for us that we had taken it.*

ANSWER. 1. By what is most probable? he that gave that Advice, dwells not far from him that gives these alcadged Seasonable Considerations: and is but his own Patron and commender here.

2. That Advice is well enough known, to have been given in the other Colonies, as well as here: the substance of it was; to manage the Government (by Commissions granted by Sir. *Edmund Andross*) after the Revolution made at *Boston*; and to decline Charters.

3. This Advice was not followed in *Massachusetts*, *Plymouth*, *Rhode-Island*, no, nor *York*, the Reasons have formerly been Rendred: we think to the Satisfaction of all, but only the Irreconcilable Enemies of Charter Government, which is so well known to be dear to the People of *New England*.

[7] PAMPHLET. *But we are so unwilling to be Advised, and so ill Affected to any, that tell us the truth, that there is little Incouragement, to any to Expose themselves in that kind for the future.*

ANSWER. 1. Unless this Person would be attended, as the only Oracle of *New England*; and impose on all other mens understandings and Consciences: there is little Reason for him thus Complainingly to charge the body of the Peo-

ple, with being unwilling to be Advised: and being ill affected, to any that tell us the truth; his notions were considered and advised on largely. But other Reasons did preponderate, in the Judgment of the most, in a manner of all: as is well known.

2. The Publick accounts given by the Reverend Mr. *Mather*, of His Majesties Approbation, of that Revolution at *Boston*; with a now above five years implicate allowance off the measures here taken, might have taken of the fondness here paid to that advice. But some Counselers, if not attended will be angry [so was *Achittophel*] and seek revenge some where.

PAMPHLET. And it is he sayes, *An Evil time, and the Prudent shall keep Silence—Cust not your Pearls before Swine &c.*

ANSWER. 1. Its great Pitty he did not keep Silence, or speak better: but if he follow not his own Advice, it will impede others to follow it.

2. It is not over modest to Emblazon his own Advices, thus as Pearles; and how unworthy this his Composure, is of such a Representation! will not be difficult to an Impartial Reader, to Judge of.

3. To compare a *Colony*, to harmful *Swine*, is hard, and yet harder; when if we be so, in respect of the Advice in 1689. in a manner all the People of *New-England* are so. But such a whole Sale Champman, that thus Barthers all our Credite; will deserve an Examination.

4. Here begins, what is carried on all along his Book: namely, a misapplication of Holy Scripture. Whether this be not a great Prophaning the Holy Name of GOD, is [8] more meet for others to | Consider; than for us here to say. What? are his Advices to be Similized with the truths of the Gospel? which are the *Pearls* there spoken of: or is *New-Englands* not attending those things from him, and others of his Opinion; to be represented and made abominable, by the fellest Persecution against the

Gospel? The Excesses of this kind, and the Rating and Blemishing (if not Curssing us) by the mouth of Scripture; are no small Scandal to us; and we desire it may be well considered by the Pious Readers.

But this notwithstanding, he proceeds to tell us;

PAMPHLET. *That he hopes the case is not so desperate.*

ANSWER. We hope so too, yet he all along, gives us up as in the most desperate hopeless posture.

PAMPHLET. He then pleads it his duty; *Thou shalt not hate thy Brother in thy heart, but shall Rebuke him &c.*

ANSWER. If any can reasonably judge, that more of hatred, and less of Love could be exerted, by the *Pamphleter*, than is to be found in him here: they may believe he hath performed this, as his duty. But we may not dwell on every Particular. Let it be noted that the Scripture here aleadged as a warrant to this Book, is *Levit* 19. 17. and the verse next before it, *Viz.* 16. is, *Thou shalt not walk about with Tales among thy People; thou shalt not stand against the Blood of thy Neighbour, I am the Lord.* Which seems as full and direct a prohibition of this his work as readily can be found in the *Bible*.

2. Having thus Prefaced himself; our Adviser or rather judge; and *Connecticut* People the Objects of his pleasure: in the Second place, in *Page* 1st. 2d. He calls to a Serious Attention, by *Scriptures* and *Arguments*, no less weighty, than his Occasion and use of them are Slighty; as will appear, we need not transcribe him.

ANSWER. All the things he proposes (that are true) are Obvious, and have been considered, and needed not his Repetition.

2. *This* (like many other things) is a Representing us to the World; as Ignorant and Inconsiderate to an Excess. [9] But these || Artifices, every candid Reader will easily detect; to whom we refer it to consider, whether the following things in that *Pamphlet*, be adapted to our Advice and consideration; or to Breath out his own Spirit against

us, and to furnish ill minded men, with matter and words, to defame us; to ensnare the more unwary, into hard thoughts; and many into groundless fears.

3. His Prefacing thus ended, in *Page 3*. He tells of the Commission of *Leiutenancy* over the *Militia* of this *Colony*; His Excellency Sir. *William Phipps* had: and saith:

PAMPHLET. *But upon notice hereof, a General Assembly was called, and met, and there it was Resolved: Not to submit to it, nor to take any notice of Sir. William Phipps in that capacity.*

ANS. 1. That His Excellency Sir. *William Phipps*, in His Commission had such a *Leiutenancy* Granted by Their Majesties and that the General Court met, is true.

2. That His Excellency did give an account of it, and desired to know what Officers were in Commission, and at length sent a Copy of that His Commission, is also true.

3. That the General Court, at their meeting did send His Excellency an account, what our intentions were, as to Addressing Their Majesties, in that behalf; and that in the Interim, the *Military Officers*, were to good Satisfaction, is also true.

4. As to the Resolve of the Court, here asserted: We say these things. (1.) That it seems to be of absolute necessity, to the ends of the *Pamphlet*, to charge such Resolves, and Acts of the Court, upon them with Rising in Arms &c. Else, they could not make out, Opposing Their Majesties, and so lay a foundation large enough, to Superstruct all the revilings and menaces, that for the ends he had before him, must be used. (2.) If such a Resolve were, our Governour, who was then in Court, must put the Question, which it did Resolve, and this is an high Reflection on him. (3.) Since this *Pamphlet* was *Licensed* at *York*, and things of this nature Asserted in it; it behoved in Justice, that he had Attested Copies, or other Equivalent assurance of it ere he thus expose us. (4.) We love not such course words as to tell the World that what is so

said, is an absolute Lye: and yet this we must say (if we [10] will say the truth) for there was no such Question [*put*, nor no such Resolve made; and we challenge them to prove it, that say it: and who that finds such things, so certified, and hears no other, would doubt the truth of it; or demurr to conclude us Direct Opposers of Their Majesties. But we have more of this kind, to come in yet, wherein an amazing, Impudent Falsifying, is used against us. (5.) It will not heal the evil to make a *Subterfuge* of any inferences from other things, as arguing such a Resolve: for 'tis matter of Fact, that is here asserted, and not brought in as a Consequence of what was matter of Fact: for that had been but Opinion; whereas this is Exhibited, as a Court Act, or Resolve.

PAM. He saies further, *At another General Assembly, we resolve to Address Their Majesties forthwith—(and) yet no Address is made to Their Majesties.*

ANS. It is not true to say no Address is made, we did forthwith, with all possible diligence, send our Address: that we have no account of it, is from other causes than our not sending. It is a very sad thing thus openly to be rendred as meer dissemblers, with Sir. William, and Their Majesties Especially: but this is the measure that is mete us, and surely Mr. Clarkson gave his *Imprimatur* on very fallible grounds to this.

PAM. *After which, Sir. William Phipps making some further demands in the Spring 1693. we promised to pay him some Hundreds of Pounds, and to take upon us the defence of the upper Towns, upon the River, belonging to the Massachusetts. As if these things would Satisfy Their Majesties Commission? (and these things, in Page 6.) he calleth a Composition with Sir. William Phipps, which gives his meaning, and what he would suggest, and have believed in the World, as to the Transactions between His Excellency, and this Colony.*

ANS. 1. He that hath only this *Pamphlets* information in this, and Credits it, will be tempted to think: that those

Hundreds of Pounds were a *Bribe*, engaged and accepted. This is an Affront to His Excellency as well as to us, to Represent a thing after this manner, which was in some sort true.

2. The truth was, in Effect only this: *His Excellency designing to disrest the Enemy Indians, at the Eastward, sent to [11] us for men to Aid || therein; and because we could not (without great inconvenience) send men so far (by two Gentlemen that were sent down on purpose) we tendred 400. Pound, for furthering that Expedition, if it went on as was propounded: but not a Penny to compound with him, about his Commission, as the Pamphlet would insinuate: and the offer was made openly to His Excellencies Council; not secretly to His Excellency: and which was done sincerely for Their Majesties Service: and we must complain of this partial account, and Representation of the Pamphlets; as setting a false face on, and misconstruing that Action.*

3. We undertook not absolutely, the defence of the upper *Towns*; but only to such a number of men, as occasion should be: which was accordingly performed, to our no small charge: but to an envious eye, will pervert the best actions, in accounting them to the World for what they never were.

4. Here we must remark, the observable difference, between the Treatment we had with His Excellency and the *Gent. of Boston*, and what we now have from this writer, on these Occasions. We may believe, that they had as more to do with it, so as much Integrity and Prudence, to manage such a thing with us, and much more, than this medler, yet never handled it as he has done.

5. Notwithstanding this seeming care for this first Commission, it is to be noted, that in all the time of it, our Adversary never gave us any such *Seasonable Advice*, to comply with it, as now, in a Month (as it is intimated in *Page 7.*) he is all on a light fire against us, why were not the dangers of delaying, and addressing, then set before us; since

himself saith, *that sincere Obedience is Universal*. So would his to Their Majesties, and Love to us, have been in a *then* advising, if he had been Equally poised. But this his partiality, may make some suspect that all this kindness for the first Commission, is but a meer *Shooting horn* to his designs by the second: and that he Loves *Mussachusetts*, and *Connecticut* much alike.

6. What is fit, in answer to this *Pamphlet*, to be said why we gave such an Answer, as we did to this Commission, will occur afterwards, on account of the Commission of His *Excellency of York*; which being the contest with that writer, we do refer to what will follow.

PAM. In *Page 3d*, he begins, and so goes on, with an account of the like Commission of *Leitenancy*, given by [12] Their Majesties to His | *Excellency Col. Benjamin Fletcher*; and remarks upon it, *That upon notice hereof, the Freemen and Souldiers in the several Towns, are Convened; to see how they stood affected, and what they will Contribute, towards Addressing Their Mujesties in this behalf. A General Assembly also is called and meets, and there it is resolved, forthwith to send an Agent for England: Money is provided &c.*

ANS. 1. And was not this Lawful and necessary? It hath been declared with sufficient Authority, *That it is the right of the Subject to Petition the King*. Let the *Bishops* case and what the *Convention Parliament* declared, be remembered; and might not in Lawful peaceable meetings, the Peoples minds be inquired into? and if they are found (as they were) so sensible of their concernment herein, that (in a manner) they Unanimously declare for an Address to Their Majesties, is it not thereupon just to take care for the Charges to defray it: and if this Unanimity and Vigoroussness, grieve the *Pamphleter* and his *Abettors*, we are not therefore to be blamed. But this Arrow will not peirce, unless he head it. Wherefore he adds, as a part of that Courts Conclusion.

PAM. And Lastly, *That if any such Commission do come, in the mean time they will not submit to it, but oppose it, till they have answer from Their Majesties.*

ANS. 1. He seems to be very sensible, that all his labour will be lost, and his whole design (of Defaming *Connecticut*) frustrate, if he do not charge us with Explicit Resolves against their Majesties; and therefore if truth will not afford him matter for it; Lyes must and shall.

2. We say of this, as of the other Resolve, charged on us about the Commission to *Sr. William*; that it is a meer falsehood, forgery, our Records, and the whole Court are Witnesses of the contrary of it; and this, though for its truth, it could not have an *Imprimatur*, yet for its usefulness, it must be passed to the *Press*. It was said of old by *Cyprián*, that some went abroad with Lyes, as if truth could not follow them. And as one sayes of him that wrote the *Romish Legends*; *That he had an Iron Forehead*. So we may say of him, that Asserts as here a matter of Fact, which never had any being; and that of the Representative Body of the *Colony*: and to such perverse ends. The [13] Court Resolved | or Concluded, only of an Address to Their Majesties, with what was necessary to it, as the charges, Person &c.

3. If these two great falsehoods, of the writer of that Book newly mentioned, and a third of Rising in Arms (which we shall meet with afterwards) be set aside, as they ought to be, for stark Lyes, that have not a Ragg of truth to Cover their Shame: all the rest affirmed against us (whither true or false) is too weak to bear the weight of his Reproaches cast on us.

PAM. *By these methods (says he) the Freemen of the Corporation, and as many of the People as will fall in with them, are ensnared, and strongly Preingaged, to make opposition against Their Majesties Commission.*

ANS. They engage only hereby in an Address; not in, or to, an Opposition.

PAM. *Insomuch that one Jeers, another will spend his Blood to keep off His Excellency &c.*

ANS. 1. There is not much (if any thing) to be believed on his Credit, nor his *Imprimatur*, in this business; who have so departed from truth in what they affirm, and pass, of the General Court.

2. Though we have heard of no such speeches (from any persons of Credit) yet can we not say, but some Rude Persons, may have talked at this Rude Rate, and possibly on the as rude Provocations of some others. But still, is this fit to be used in reproach of a whole *Colony*, when yet none of the offenders were brought to any of the Majestrates, to answer such things? the particular Persons (if such they were) should have been named, and the evil confined to them: we take it as a wrong, to have these things indefinitely and Promiscuously cast on us, as if it were a common and general Practice; and hereon to ground in great part, the heavy imputations that follow. We shall oft meet with these kind of things: let this stand for an Answer to them, wherever they occur in the *Pamphlet*.

PAM. In *Page 5*, he gives an account of His Excellencies coming to *Hartford*, Reading his Commission, leaving a memorial of it &c. and in Particular, that he Assures us, *That he hath neither power, nor intent to invade our Civil Liberties; That in case of our Submission, he would Commissionate all that were in Commission before, and take our Advice for the [14] supply of Vacant Places. And particularly tender a Commission to our Governour, for the Command of the Militia in the Colony; only in Subordination to this Their Majesties Commission.*

ANS. We must defer the answer to this a little while, and see first his account of the Success of it, on the Court, in these words.

Viz.

PAM. *The Deputies (divers of them at least) being so prepared as aforesaid, are Resolved before hand, and have deter-*

mined the Question before the Court meets (God hath given them such a priviledge) and therefore if Their Majesties put such things upon them, they must oppose, and hold their own, they are bound in Conscience to do it.

ANS. 1. This Representation of the Deputies, as pre-resolved to Oppose Their Majesties Commission, is unlimited, and unproved, and therefore as here and afterwards improved, is an evil Surmise, and asperses all the Deputies, and the whole *Colony*, and opens a wide Door to any such Calumnies; but as long as it is wound up, to Resolving to oppose, it must be worthy of an *Inprimatur*.

2. The Court Act on this matter, shews what the Deputies minds were in it; and in honesty he should have produced that; and then they had spoken for them selves, and not out of the mouth of an Adversary. But that answer of the General Court, speakes not Opposition to Their Majesties, loud enough, he perceives, but Subjection; therefore in all his Book he recites it not, but in stead of it pops off his Readers with this Surmise, and other misaccountings of it.

PAM. *He then troubles himself with the Halberteers; as if they were designing to Conceal the Commission from being known &c.*

ANS. Tis a silly thing thus to imagine as he doth, why should any desire, or with what hopes endeavour a concealment? There were but four *Halberts*, and it was only to prevent a throng at first; the People were instantly admitted. But he adds.

PAM. *And no marvel the General Court not overwilling to give the Commission a hearing.*

ANS. This is another tacit Scandal cast on the General Court, who waited many dayes to give it an hearing (and this [15] our Records and | the Printed account of those Transactions, Published by His Excellency do prove) and sate several dayes on it: and therefore for him to say, as he does on it; *That the Court take no great notice of His Excellency, wave the business, would bring him to Composition, as*

they had done Sir. William &c. is apparently a mistake; we did take notice and attend as the account mentioned shews.

PAM. But he thought (it seems) that it would manifest Opposition to send, as he sayes, *Orders to such as Command the Forts, to prevent their Seizure.*

ANS. This misconstruction of Actions, is a frequent thing in this *Pamphlet*. The order he should have Printed, if there were any thing of an Opposition to His Excellency in it. The truth, and all of it is, That at that time, there was a *Pyrate* or Enemy on the Coast; that took many *Vessels*; and it is usual with our General Courts, when they sit, to renew Orders of that kind, and that was what was then done: yet this is Rattled into the World, as a kind of Rebellion, and afterwards we are told of holding *Fort*s against the King, wherein he seems to refer to this, but all that know our two poor *Fort*s, may well Judge us all mad if we should attempt to hold them against the King.

PAM. He goes on saying, *And it seems (if the common Fame be true) it is their Opinion, That Their Majesties have nothing to do with us.*

ANS. 1. One would have thought that the *Topicks* of Lyes, evil Surmises, misrepresenting things, misconstruction of Actions, misapplications of Scriptures, and Laws; which are the *Nervous* parts of this *Pamphlet*; had been enough to furnish the Railery of it, without taking in Fame, and wronging it too; for it may be truly answered, that unless this *Pamphlet*, by defaming, have so famed us, we never were so Reputed, in a common way, or at all as we know of.

2. What could he say worse of us, than that it is our General Courts Opinion (for of them he speaks) that Their Majesties have nothing to do with us? It is fitter indeed to be answered with renting our Cloaths in detestation, than with words. Do we not professedly and practically, hold all under Their Majesties? and Serve them to our Capacity as the rest of Their Subjects do? Say it be doubt-

ful as yet, in this one point of the Commissions? is all [16] Allegiance | renounced, in one demur (on just Reasons as we trust) and about which we have (at great charge) sent with all speed to Their Majesties.

3. Let it be considered, what these his dealings with Their Majesties poor afflicted Subjects will prove; of his and his *Imprimatus* Subjection to Their Majesties? how-ever highly they word it for their Allegiance?

PAM. *He adds, in Page 6 & 7th. That hereon Commissions from His Excellency are declined, abuses offered him, and such of the Assembly as moved for Submission, thought unfit for their places; such as yeild obedience traduced as Rogues (and with the rest) yea some rise in Arms to Oppose him, and others are in readiness upon Occasion to do the same.*

ANS. 1. This of rising in Arms to oppose His Excellency here Asserted; is as false as any thing that can be told: that some came to *Hartford* with some Arms to list under His Excellency hath been said: but this cannot be the thing charged; also that some *Troopers* were appointed and went to wait on His Excellency to conduct him into *Hartford*, is true; but His Excellency came not at the time Expected, and they went no more. A Training was in hand but put by, by the Governours Order. Besides these (by all the enquiry we can make) no one man was in Arms in the *Colony*, while His Excellency was here: unless the *Halberteers* mentioned afore, and our usual Guards on the *Lords Dayes*; much less did any Rise against His Excellency, and least of all, yea not at all, as is here suggested to Strangers as a general thing.

2. This false charge, is by its confident Asserting, and Licensing past into the World; and down to Posterity, as a real truth.

3. We are by it greatly wronged, rendered (as the *Pamphleter* hath to effect his designs a necessity) as in open Rebellion. As to that of others being ready to Rise, it is only Surmised. The same we say of what was said of

some of the Members of the Court, being thought unfit for their places; and the traducing of some as Rogues; and abuses offered His Excellency; these things we have answered afore, that tis the particulars (if any such be) that are blameable not the whole or body of the People. As to the not taking Commissions, it will occur afterwards to be spoken unto.

PAM. *In Page 7 & 8. Several things are said of a Proclamation, left with Coll. Allyn, imparted to the Governour, and fault is found that it was not published, and so of a second Proclamation sent from York.*

[17] ANS. 1. Let our General Courts Answer be considered; and that will shew how improper it was for our Governour to Publish those Proclamations.

2. Was it not enough that no hindrance was given His Excellency when here, and that he yet did not do it?

PAM. *In Page 8 he takes it for granted, that all former Military Commissions are Expressly determined, by the Publication of this: and therefore finds fault with Trainings, and adds, 'tis said, we have made a Major too.*

ANS. 1. His Opinion differs from the General Courts, in the first point, but that being Controversal, it is before Their Majesties.

2. As to *Trainings* in the interim; it was it seems thought meet by some Officers, not to desist, and thereby let the Souldiers grow unfitted for Service, but attend what the Law requires in a time of War as this is, here being none in Commission neither, but what had Commissions from the General Court; and a Vacancy at this juncture, seems not safe.

3. As to a *Major*; the *Major Winthrop* being gone for *England*, the General Care of *New-London County*, which is most exposed to danger from the Sea, required somewhat of a Special Order in that respect. Our duty to Their Majesties in our present Circumstances do admit, and require, that we omit nothing wherein we may best Serve

them. But these Trainings &c. in his usual heat he ill re-sents, and declares against.

PAM. *Thus we make all the defiance to Their Majesties, and Their Commission, trample them into the very dirt, and offend with as high an hand, as is well possible for us to do.*

ANS. It is time now to say somewhat more, to take of these heavy Imputations, and we will promise to do it; that there are several important things, that are not convenient on the Provocations of this *Pamphlet*, to be made Publick. Nor may a few, undertake to give the whole sense of the General Court and Country. We shall content our selves, and we hope satisfy the Reader, with what answers this *Pamphlet*.

1. Then we say, the *Militia* is the Kings. So says he in *Page 25.* and onwards.

2. This is so declared by two Acts of Parliament, 13 & 13th. and 14th. of *Charles II.* So saith he, *Page 26.*

3. The *Militia* that is the Kings, and so declared in those [18] Acts, is || the *Militia* intended in the Commission to *Sir. William Phipps*, and now to His Excellency of *York*: So he Argues, *Page 26.* saying, *It is declared by two several Acts of Parliament, of 13. & 13. and 14. of Charles II. and of this His Majesty was pleased to put us in mind, by express mention of the first of these Statutes in the Commission to Sir. William Phipps.* And in *Page 3.* he calls the Commission to His Excellency of *York*, a like Commission; and argues in *Page 26.* and onward, *our duty to obey this Commission, by Vertue of those Acts.*

4. The latter of those Acts, do to determine the whole Regulation of the Kings *Militia*, in 36 Articles; according to which His Majesties *Leiutenants*, we conceive must Execute their Office; this we think is indisputable, unless that Act be void, or vainly urged on us by our *Antagonist*. We desire that a special notice may be taken, that this Act of 13. & 14. of *Charles II.* is the Limit, and Boundary of the Kings *Militia*, as it is Committed to, and is to be Com-

manded by the Kings *Leiutenants*, as such: and that if this be plucked up. (1.) The very *Lieutenancy* is taken away, being as to Law founded only hereon. And (2.) That if the Kings *Leiutenants* as such, can claime, and Command a *Militia* as the Kings, beyond the measure of this Act, what shall stop them from Commanding, who when, and in what manner so ever they please? (3.) The word [*Militia*] as it relates to the King and His *Leiutenants*, is restrained to this Act, and does not take in all that strictly may be denominated [*Militia*] for in a large sence, *Corporations, Towns, Families*, yea single *Persons*; have, and may have, that Furniture for War, offending and defending, as their respective Capacities do require, and admit, that may be called truly and properly [their *Militia*] and yet neither the things so called, nor that name, shall incorporate them into the Kings *Militia*; and put them under His *Leiutenant*. (4.) That when the King makes His *Leiutenant*, that *Lieutenancy* is necessarily referred to this Law, and stands in Connexion to it; and all words and clauses, in the *Lieutenants* Commission, must be accommodated to the tenor and true intent of this Act; and not otherwise: for as it is *Lieutenancy*, so tis but *Lieutenancy*, and what *Lieutenancy* shall be, and how far extend, this Act provides; these things we refer to the Readers notice in this whole contest.

5. In the third Article or Paragraph, as *Wingate* renders it, is said that the *Leiutenants &c. May charge any, where their Estates be, with Horss, Horsman, and Arms, that have 500 [19] Pound Per. Annum in Possession, | or 6000 Pounds, in Goods or Money besides furniture of their Houses, and so Proportionably: And any with a Foot Souldier and Arms, that have 50 Pounds Per. Annum, in Possession, or 600 Pounds in Goods or Money, other than Stock on the ground, and so Proportionably; they shall charge none to find both Horss and Foot in the same County.*

We need recite no more here, only in the close of the foregoing Paragraph; it is said, *And the said Leiutenants,*

and in their absence or otherwise by their directions, the deputy *Leiutenants*, or any two or more of them, may Exercise and Conduct the Persons so to be Armed &c. as is here after expressed.

And in the 25. Article or Paragraph, we find to the same Effect. *Viz.* The *Leiutenant &c.* May from time to time Lead, Train &c. all Persons Raised and Arrayed, according to the Act of 13 and 14. of Charles II. Chap. 3. Here it seems very plain, (1.) What the Kings *Militia* is. *viz.* Persons of such Estates as are mentioned. (2.) That the Kings *Leiutenants* as such, and by Law have only those Persons of those Estates under their charge and power. As yet nothing is offered us to prove it otherwise.

6. There is no such *Militia* so constituted, yet formed in *Connecticut*; therefore no Subject or Object of such a *Leiutenancy*, yet formally Existing here; this is well enough known.

7. His Excellency nor Sir. William, ever went about forming such a *Militia* here, by and according to the 3d. 4th. 5th. and 10th. Articles or Paragraphs, of the said Acts of Parliament: therefore were not opposed in Executing their respective *Leiutenancies* according to the Acts referred to in their Commissions: and Consequently not opposed in their Commissions rightly understood and applied; and as the *Pamphlet* argues for them.

8. The *Militia* of *Connecticut*, as now constituted by the General Court, by vertue of the Charter, and as our need requires; consists of all Males from 16 to 60 years of Age, some few, as *Majestrates*, *Ministers &c.* only excepted, be their Estates what they will.

These things being thus, the Question is whether the Kings *Militia* constituted, and to be Governed as by said Acts, or the Corporation-*Militia*, of another constitution, and Government (and therefore so constituted because so to be Governed) be the Object of the *Leiutenancy*? the disputes of the *Pamphlet* run for the latter; but still wholly on grounds taken only from the former; but that will not

[20] hold: for what Their Majesties claime by Law (that is by those Acts) they surely Execute upon, according to the same Law, or Acts of Parliament. 'Tis an happy truth, that all the People are their Majesties, yet are not all by Act of Parliament from 16 to 60 years of Age (that is Males) His standing *Militia*.

If this had come to practice here and His Excellency had called all from 16 to 60 to the duty of Souldiers, and they had refused as not having Estates to Oblige them by the Laws, his Commission is dependent on and must be exercised by; and the Corporation *Militia* strictly so called, had been severed there from; what a poor posture had that been in? when it may be the *Colony* would not have yielded an Hundred Souldiers to that part, it may be not half an hundred?

But it may be said, doth not the Commission say; the *Militia* of *Connecticut*, all the *Forces* &c. And this answers all. We say no: For we know His Majesty Governs by the Laws of the Realm; and this our Adversary not only yields us, but makes it the *Basis* of all his Arguing, in Page 23. where he saith, *In this case, (Rex præcipit & Lex præcipit) the Kings Commands and the Laws Commands, is all one.* So that by his own account the Laws Command and the Kings Command in the case are Mutual, and Reciprocal and do expound each other; that is the Statute of 13 & 14 of *Charles II.* do expound this Commission of *Leitutenancy*, and all others of that kind and in the sence and under the Limitations of those Acts, it is to be taken and not otherwise. And this alone with the Consideration of the Constitution of *Connecticut Militia*, at once overthrows utterly his whole *Hypothesis* in the *Pamphlet*. And he might have spared the labour of all his *Sophistications*, in arguing and concluding as he doth from the one to the other, when as not the same thing, or a thing of the same Constitution is in both.

And here we must note his misrepresentation of those

Statutes as intending a *Militia*, which they do not by applying them directly to another kind of *Militia*, as he doth evidently all along. It is like he knew that they are but few Comparatively that Read those Laws, and yet fewer of his Readers that know or will be informed what a different *Militia* from that, *Connecticut Militia* is: and so the *Ambiguity* of the word *Militia* would not be discovered; and so it must and would be concluded, that if we hold any *Militia*, [21] it was the same in the Statutes, | (this is no fair dealing in him.) His Majesty claims His right according to those Laws, and what is by Patent Granted to His Subjects, and is of another Constitution, we may be bold to hold that, till we can enquire His Majesties right and pleasure to be otherwise, and in this we claim not His Majesties *Militia*, as it is distinguished from, our Corporation *Militia*, it is all His Majesties in Service.

In a word, what is the Kings *Militia* so settled by the Laws of His Realm, we never gave the least hindrance unto His *Leutenants* in: if they had claimed the Command of that and that only, and had been refused; some such Charges, as now we are laden with, might have had a colour, whereas now they have none. To a full management hereof, many other things should and might be added; but this may suffice to show that the *Pamphlet* by not distinguishing between *Militia* and *Militia*, runs into all manner of confusion; and chargeth us with claiming the Kings right, when we claim it not; but a distinct thing, and not that neither, but in Subjection to Their Majesties (what of the Kings *Militia* is involved in the Corporations we know not, till it be distinguished as the Law requires) if these things be not clear to others, they are so to us, and will bear at least an enquiry in *England*, before we be put on, to what we are not clear in; and this may be the better born with, since as he said in *Page 5th. His Excellency offered to continue the Militia in the hands it was then in*, which shewed a good Satisfaction in the *Military* Commission Of-

ficers; the odds of being under the Corporation, or His Excellency, till we could here from *England*, needed not the Sharpness of this *Pamphlet*; which hath nothing helped; save to render us as bad as possible, and beyond truth, or peace.

And here we might end our answer; but because of the long and bitter *Harrangue* that continues in that Book, and some things that must be cleared, we must attend it. And at once we will insert the Courts Answer to *Coll. Fletcher*, that all may see what it was, and not take it in the disguises that are put on it; and it shall be as it was Printed at *York*. *Viz.*

To His Excellency Benjamin Fletcher, Captain General, and Governour in Chief, of Their Majesties Province of New-York &c.

IN Return to your Excellencies demands of the *Militia*, of us Their Majesties General Court of Their *Colony* of [22] *Connecticut*: we say: That finding in your Excellencies Commission no Express, *Superseding* of the Commission of the *Militia* in our *Charter*, nor Order to us from Their Majesties to Surrender the same: And being sensible of the great importance of this matter, and finding it in several main things which do need a particular Explication, and Settlement, as we shall (God willing) manifest to Their Majesties: cannot but conceive it our duty, both with respect to Their Majesties Service, and our own peace, and preservation in this time of War, to continue the *Militia* as formerly; till by our *Agent* now sent for *England*, we shall receive further Orders from Their Majesties.

And in obedience to Their Majesties Gracious Letter of *March 3d. 1692*. We shall be ready upon all just Occasions, to yield Assistance to His Excellency *Coll. Benjamin Fletcher Esq.* His Majesties *Captain General*, and *Governour of New York &c.* and to the Commander their in *Chief*, for the time being: for the defence of the said Province,

against the Common Enemy, according to our ability, and in proportion with our Neighbouring Colonies and Provinces; although we have already been out about *Five Thousand Pounds*, for the defending our Neighbours of *Albany*, since the War began, besides the loss of Lives. And further, this Court does see reason to grant the Sum of *Six hundred Pounds* in Country pay, out of our Country Rate, towards the Charge of maintaining the Garrison at *Albany*, onwards of what shall be our proportion of that charge, in Obedience to Their Majesties Letter of 8d of *March* last.

By Order of the Governour and General Court of Connecticut.
HARTFORD October, Signed by JOHN ALLYN Secr.
 25th. 1693.

On the 27th. of October 1693. was sent this Memorial following.
 Excellent SIR.

WE have in our former to your Excellency, tendred you *Six hundred Pounds*, in Country pay out of our Rates; towards the charge of maintaining the Garrison at *Albany*, onwards of what shall be our proportion of that charge. We desire your Excellencies answer, whether that be acceptable to you. [23] But if you judge it more for Their Majesties | Service, to have men, we shall raise about *Fifty men* to Assist in Garrisoning *Albany*, who we shall raise and send forth, with what speed we may, to continue there till the Spring to the end of *March*, or first of *April* next. We Crave your Excellencies Answer, who are,

*Your Humble Servants the Governour and General
 Court of Connecticut.*

By their Order signed JOHN ALLYN Secr.

HERE is what can be charged truly on our General Court; and the Spirit of it is in that clause, where it is said, *We cannot but conceive it our duty both with Respect to Their Majesties Service, & our own Peace, and preservation in this time of War, to continue the Militia as formerly, till by our*

Agent now sent for England, we shall receive further Orders from Their Majesties. And this is spoken only with respect to the Corporation *Militia*, not at all with respect to a Militia Constituted as by the 13 and 14 of *Charles II.* which for distinction we call the Kings Militia, and on the reasons there aleadged, the full import of which is for Their Majesties special Audience: and with a provision to do our duty as to aiding *York* and *Albany*. And what does this amount to but our Courts sence, Judgment, or Opinion, in the matter of their duty.

Let any man coolly Consider, whether this be not justifiable, whether this will bear all the Mountainous weights of Reproach, which this wretched *Pamphlet* casts on us on this account? And had the *Pamphleter* dealt with any honesty, he should have proved that for our Court thus to declare their sence is Opposing the King, and what else he loads us withal; and not publish Horrid Lyes of us, and then argue from them. We know that sins and vices are *Immergent* as well as Graces and Vertues. Lyes evil Surmises misconstructions and the like, will yield Misapplications of Scriptures and Laws, and these then will yield a torrent of *Infamy*. But had he derived only from truth, it had been otherwise then now it is, and better for him and us.

In Page 9, 10, 11. He tells us of two sorts of People among us. Viz. *The Deceivers and the Deceived*, and compares the best of these to the Rebels on Absoloms side, and their case and danger like the Regicides, and adviseth them to take the course of [24] Peter, who had denied his Lord | and Master, the other sort are desperate &c.

ANS. 'Tis to much to Transcribe it, but the Reader that hath that *Pamphlet* may examine it.

1. He is over what is matter of Fact, as to the main of it; and this, and what follows, for the Substance being only his own sence of the things fore mentioned; we shall pass through them more briefly: And we shall once for all, de-

sire the Candid Reader to take notice; that all his loud Openings and Noise, are upon a wrong scent; for he pursues us as with-holders of the Kings *Militia*, settled by Parliament; when as but newly declared we meddle not with that, but another thing only.

2. It would and should make any one tremble, to read such things, such Comparisons made on such wrong grounds; but we would know not only the words, but the power of these men, thus to Arraign, Condemn, and Execute (as far as *Pen* and *Imprimatur* Malice can go) Their Majesties Subjects and the People of God. Surely if the double Fence of Sacred and Civil Laws, had been at all regarded, we had not been thus Broken in upon, and devoured in some of our choicest Interests: the Holy ninth Command in its several Branches by the things mentioned, and to be mentioned is by the *Pamphlet* Violated Lyes, Reproaches, evil Surmises, Misconstructions, Misrepresentations, and the like, do Violate that Rule. The fifth Command to *Honour Superiours, Equals, Inferiours &c.* Requires the hiding real Blemishes, not with *Ham* to see and deride, were that the case with us, much more it enjoyns not to Invade our just Repute, with Falshoods. By the Civil Law we are Their Majesties Subjects, and as such his Honour is in a degree concerned in ours, and Sugestions against the Subjects ought to be made to the King, not to the World, to defame the Kings Subjects openly, in the Face of His Enemies, sorts with no Law or Policy: nothing is to be done in terrour of the People, the Kings Peace is to be kept by all, the King hath a Judicature to Issue Controversies, and our cause, is at *Cesars* Judgment Seat where we ought to be judged: who made this man a *Censor* over us? But all these things notwithstanding to tear and worry us is what that wretched Tract seems designed to.

3. What Colour is there that we are with *Absoloms* Rebels pursuing Their Majesties, or with the *Regicides* about their work, or have we denied with *Peter* our Lord and Master.

[25] 4. May we not for his thus Comparing us retort his own Interrogations; and say, Consider how he by these carriages Blemishes Religion and Scandalizes the Gospel. *Hath he thus Learned Christ &c.?* The Tables thus turned would stand the righter way.

5. Our Gracious KING and QUEEN, nor any of Their good Subjects, we do believe do like a *Phalaris* with his Brazen *Bull* to Torment men in, to Extremity; which this *Pamphlet* is but too like unto.

6. The *Pamphlet* goes on, to tell of the Fountain of good Principles, and what his are, *Page* 12 to *p.* 21. We will give only the heads of them, and his Inferences from them against *Connecticut*.

PAM. 1. *That Allegiance to our Prince is a Morral and necessary Duty.*

2. *That Religion Comprizeth both Tables of the Law.*

3. *That the Second Table of the Law is like unto the First.*

4. *That the Morral Law is not abolished by Christ.*

5. (To abreviate it) *That the King is next to God Supream upon Earth, Chief Governour in all His Dominions.*

ANS. 1. The manner, and end of Exhibiting these *Principles*, is to Suggest, that we in *Connecticut* are *Heterodox* in these points, and so little distant from meer *Infidels*: this perverse Insinuation we detest.

2. We own, and desire to live by these Principles, though we are yet so unhappy, as not fully to understand our duty in the one point Controverted.

3. Therefore all the pains taken in these 11 *Pages*, may justly be called, *The New-labour-in-vain*; a washing a white man, as if he were a black-more, to make him white, when as he never was other-wise.

PAM. But he infers on the first Principle, *that now it seems this Sound Doctrine will not be indured*, *Page* 15th.

ANS. 1. When or wherein was the Doctrine of Allegiance to our Prince, so Opposed or Punished among us, as not to be indured? The present contest turns not on that

hinge, whether we shall be Subject to Their Majesties, but what is the true intent of this Commission? this we may enquire without renouncing our Allegiance.

[26] 2. Since the 40 years mentioned, it is well known who Preached an Election Sermon, on *Rom. 13. 7. Honour to whom Honour*; and how well he Prest Obedience to the *Colony* Government thence, and it were well if some were still as willing to be minded of their duty to God, and their Brethren, as the body of this People are to be Subject to Their Majesties.

PAM. On the Second Principle, *Page 17.* he sayes, *But we have seen that of late in Connecticut, which if Abraham himself had been here, would have made him say as once he did to Abimelech, because I thought surely the Fear of God is not in this place.*

ANS. This is like the most of the *Pamphlet*, a bitter Censure, and Causless; and we doubt not but he hath deeply wronged therein, many a Son of *Abraham*.

PAM. On the Third, he glances on the *Pastors* of the Churches, and *I may add, then, and not before will Religion too be sound and safe, when Obedience due to Princes, shall be thought to be a part of Piety; and when the Pastors of the Church shall Train up the People by the Word of God, to perform Obedience to them.*

ANS. The Emphasis seem to lie in the word [*then*] whether the meaning be not that it is not so [*now*] or as yet, we refer, but these Persons he is aware of, and therefore comes so on, as he may Retreat.

PAM. On the Fourth Principle thus, *That a Godly Rebel is a Solecism, a Prodigious Monster in Religion.*

ANS. Who this is spoken to, and of, is Obvious: and what he bated the Reverend *Pastors*, he give in over weight to their *Flocks*, and but that some *Tongues are unruly Evils full of deadly Poison*, it would not have been thought, that such Reflections should have been made on us.

PAM. On the Fifth, *If our Religion be so over grown,*

to that pass that it teaches us to deny Kings and Majestrates &c.

[27] **ANS.** Is it not too much that our *Civil* and *Military* benefits, have been so struck at by some, but must our *Profession of Religion* be also prostituted to Contempt in this manner? We profess no Religion that teaches to deny *Kings* and *Majestrates*: but of this enough before. Yet we would tell the *Pamphleter*, that he is Suspected of other Principles, such as afforded all the untruths and *Ranchors* of his Book; and that *Leven* hath spoyled the use of these his Principles herein; and however high his Credit hath run abroad, and formerly, we will here tell him: that it is no good Principle for any to hold, that a man may Lawfully Marry with his Deceased Wives natural Sister:* nor no good Practice to write a Book to justify one that hath so done; which its said will be Printed; this is contrary not only to the Current of Protestant *Divines*, but even of *Papist*; and the *Pope* himself, save as he holds that he can dispense with the Law of God for the good of the Church, and the Manuscript is now extant to prove this.

PAM. In Page 20 He resumes what he said of us from Fame, *Viz. That it is our Opinion, that the King hath nothing to do with us; and thereupon proceeds to prove that His Majesty hath to do with us, as if this last were a denied, or doubted Principle with us.*

ANS. It is too long to Transcribe, for it begins in Page 20. and ends in Page 25.

1. But it is *Coincident* with that aleadged opinion as (represented by him, by us denied) and also with his fifth Principle but now answered; and therefore we need here only

* In May 1694, Nathaniel Finch was complained of before the Court of Assistants for having married Elizabeth Hemminway, the sister of his first wife; the court "having considered the matter of the complaint, with all the circumstances of the case, the pleas on both sides, and likewise the rules of God's Word, the judgment of most able Divines, and the Laws of this Colony," unanimously judged the marriage incestuous and unlawful, and declared it to be wholly null and void.

say what in effect we have said; namely that it is a falsity, and figment of his own, to say and insinuate that we deny Their Majesties Authority over us, and therefore all his Interrogations, and wretched conclusions on that Suppositions of our denying Their Majesties we detest, and if he will go on with a *Labour in vain* (unless it be to wrong us in the highest) he must, we can but Vindicate our selves.

2. We can tell him, that the highest word Assertors of Soveranty, are not alwayes the truest Subjects: *Haman* under the pretence of exalting and benifiting his King, sought his own Revenge, and used the Royal Bow to shoot down good Subjects: And no Age has been free of this Pestiferous mischief, when Subjects are leveled at, while they are on their Knees before their King, as now we are; [28] it is no great | Indication of Obedience to Their Majesties, or Love to Their Subjects.

PAM. In Page 22 he saith: *It is a manifest thing, that this and the other Homunculus hath a thousand times more Authority, Respect, and Obedience in Connecticut than Their Majesties have. If a man come in Their Majesties Name, and with Their Commission, he will not be received by us; but if a man come in his own name without Their Majesties Authority and Commission, him we will receive: This is not the behaviour of good Subjects.*

ANS. Either this is a base Reflection on those worthy Persons of the Neighbouring Jurisdiction with whom we have for the Publick been concerned (it can intend no other) for who have we received *Viz.* Aided but his Excellency of the *Massachusetts*, and before him the Administrators of that Government, and those of *Albany* and *York* at the Instance of them and by the advice of the *Massachusetts*, to call these as he will have it *Homunculus*; we received also Mr. *Livingstone* of *Albany* when Mr. *Leisler* vexed him; these were the *Homunculus* the little men we received, but not in their own names, it was only to serve the Publick; or else we are here taxed as if we used Their Majesties Authority

to serve private Persons and Interests, which is a gross Slander: he should have named some of the [*Homunculus*] that we received in their own names and preferred before Their Majesties, that our answer might have reached it particularly; as for Mr. *Leister* it will be spoken to afterwards.

PAM. In Page 25 he moves us an Objection as made by us about the Lawfulness of Coll. Fletchers Commission, and this he returns over into an Asserting the Kings Right in the Militia.

ANS. 1. As to Their Majesties right in the *Militia*, it hath been owned, and that he may grant Commissions accordingly is not to be doubted. But this is not the difficulty, but whether this Commission do reach any other *Militia* than what the Laws of the Realm do constitute, and this the *Pamphlet* in words at least yields in our sence, for in Page 29. thus he saith, *This Commission is therefore a Lawful Commission being founded upon the Antient and standing Laws of the Realm.*

If then there be an Inseparable Connection between this Commission and the standing Laws of the Realm, and it be [29] founded on ¶ them, and that Act of 18 & 14 of *Charles II.* be such a standing Law? then this Commission is measured and limited by that Law, which extent of it, was never denied that we know of. But (2.) If they will extend it to a *Militia* of another Constitution, *Viz. The Corporation Constitution*; then there is matter of Law in it, not only to be disputed, but to be tryed, or at least to be inquired of Their Majesties, whether it be Lawful or no in that Extent. (3.) Their Majesties pleasure may be sought, even as to that which the said Act (if applyed) would take out of our Constitution of the *Militia*; wherein many things may be, and we hope are said before them. (4.) If men that have neither 50 *Pound Starling Per. Annum*, nor 600 *Starl.* in Money or Goods (as most with us are such) shall refuse the duty of a Souldier in the standing *Militia*, what Law that this Commission is dependant on, will condemn them for so doing? and this as has been hinted will be our case; if

the *Colony Militia* (so to call it which is the Kings too in a sence) be dissolved; but of this we gave an account before; yet could not well omit this further notice of it.

PAM. In Page 81. he reflects on the Government as Severe and Sharp, *Upon any disacknowledgment of our disputable Authority. How Bragg and Peremptory should we have been if this Commission, in terminis had been given to us? Certainly Fire and Faggot, or the Noose of an Halter, had been good enough for any one that should have offered to oppose it &c.*

ANS. 1. Himself sayes, that Male contents never want Complaints and Commends a throughness in Government. Page 54. p. 58.

2. It is the general complaint, that *Connecticut* Government is too Mild; and possible those that know it best, will laugh most at this. Imagination of *Fire and Faggot*, and the noose of an *Halter*. What error is in *Connecticut*, in these things, lies on the other hand.

PAM. In 81 and 82 Page, he speaks of *Greedily catching at the Kings Letter of 3. of March last.*

ANS. This Their Majesties Letter was very Graciously sent, and we hope thankfully and dutifully received and obeyed by us; and he needed not speak so of it as Greedily catching; but we know to whom that Letter hath been an Eye sore.

[80] PAM. In Pag. 32, 33, 34. he charges Ingratitude to Their Majesties on so hard, that it is intolerable. It was an old Saying: *Say I am Ingrateful and say any thing*; but the best of it is, he is no fit Judge of any thing concerning *Connecticut*, who is thus Fire hot against us with Rage; and we have Their Majesties and moderate Persons to judge herein; we acknowledg (and wish we could do it better) Their Majesties kindness to us, and were it not transcendent, as the Sky is above the Earth, to this mans Spirit; we were very Miserable. But whether he be within bounds of truth, Sobriety, or Charity, let any one Judge; when he saith, *Shall we requite Love with Hatred, Tender Bowels with*

Malignity? for what else can our behaviour signify, but a Malignant Spirit and Inveterat Hatred, against the King as King, and who ever comes from him as such? We have sufficiently declared our Affections to the King, and what we should have done if we had Him in our hands; we should soon Rid the World of Kings, if we had them in our Power; Remember Hazael, Is thy Servant a Dog, sayes he, that he should do this great (i. e. this abominable) thing? Yea, but when Temptation and Oppertunity met together, he did it notwithstanding, and verily so should we.

ANS. This is such a Charge as shows the *Pamphleters* Spirit, in Lively and yet blackest Colours. To take the Altitude of this *Promontory*; this Charge or Surmise: Let it be considered. (1.) That to Imagine the Death of the King, is by Law High Treason. (2.) To Imagine the Death of Kings in General is yet higher or highest Treason. (3.) That such Imaginings are Sins of the most heinous nature before God. (4.) That such a People so Spirited are justly to be abhorred of all man-kind. Wherefore to Tax a *Colony* with such Treasons and Impiety, to render them an abhorance to all men, is so abhorredly Injurious to them, That if *Cerberus* had been brought to Bark at us, it is not imaginable he could more Hellishly have performed this task. Let *Leviticus* 19. 16. Be here again remembred, *Thou shalt not walk about with Tales among thy People: Thou shalt not stand against the Blood of thy Neighbour: I am the Lord.* We will set against it the mind of Excellent *Owen*, in his Book of the Dispenssing of the Holy Spirit *Fol.* 517. *Where Truth is not universally Observed, according to the utmost watchfulness of Sincerity and Love, there all other Marks and Tokens of the Image of God in any Persons, are not only [31] Sulied but ¶ defaced, and the Representation of Satan is most prevalent.*

PAM. In Page 34, he demands an Example of us, *who so ingratful who so disobedient as we &c.*

ANS. Supposing us to be such as he just afore affirms

us to be, we think none are like us or should be so, nor do we know any like him for misusing the Kings Subjects, in such an horrid degree.

2. But if the meaning be, who ever did Address a King before, they obeyed an Order they had to inquire further on (which only is pertinent here) as we have done Examples in a greater Latitude then that abound everywhere. For one let *Dan. 2, 24, 25*, Compared with the 13, 14, 15, 16, *Verses* be seen; Scores might easily be produced, that have acceptably done this, as well as we.

PAM. *In Page 35, he thus Interrogates us, What? do we indeed intend to fall off to the French &c.*

ANS. When men are thus forming and feeding *Chymerae*, it is endless and in vain to follow them; We are not falling to the *French*, nor from the King, and yet for diversion we will tell him that his Counsel [*If we intend so to do let us speak out*] is very weak.

PAM. *In Page 36 he urges us with the unseasonableness of our Acting, from the time in which we are Addressing Their Majesties, and with his usual Severity.*

ANS. If we should for once gratifie his humor, and say we mist it therein, yet what is he better than *Esops Doctor* to the Dead man? the case was sent away to *Englund*, and that before he wrote, and he is too late to help it.

PAM. *In Page 36, he grows Jocular, and tis all that he is pleasant in, in the whole Book, and but sour there too, he Masquerades, tells us that our Great Champion, our Goliath leaves us in the Lurch, the Stone is Sunk in his forehead &c. And shall we yet harden our selves &c.*

ANS. He uses a great Liberty, we know none that have so Lurched us, though the Stone of a Slander, that one [32] took a great Bribe at *York* ¶ has been cast at one of us; but its most like to be found in another forehead.

PAM. *In Page 37, he propounds the Event to Consideration, and this he Predicts will be (1.) That Friends will be ashamed of us, Enemies will Insult.*

ANS. We think his Friends (if he have any wise ones) will be ashamed of him, for his Trifling, and abusive use of Sacred and Serious things; and that his and our Enemies will insult upon us with this weapon he hath so unadvisedly or maliciously, put into their hands.

PAM. His Second Prognostick is, *That the King and Council expects better things of us.*

ANS. He is all along too bold to give the Kings sence: it has been said of a *Chancelour* in some cases, that *he that knew the Chancelours mind, knew the Kings mind*; but we have no assurance that this mans Perception is so deep.

PAM. His Third Presage is that, *That we Prejudice Their Majesties Interests, frustrate Their Intentions, defeat Their Counsels &c.*

ANS. 1. As we justly dislike his fore staling Their Majesties Judgment, so we do-but a little fear it, though that be evidently designed by his Book, and he may move in his own Orb, and not Soar with his *Icarian Wings* so near the Sun; alas little thing why thus *Cheek by Jole*, with the Sovereign power? will he perform the thing through thee? We know a divine Sentence is in the Lips of the King, *and that our Judgement cometh forth from the Lord.*

2. Let it be remembred that we do take care of our duty in respect of the War, and are out great charge as hath been said.

We will pass over his fond Conceits in *Page 39*, of the *French* Concluding that, *they have Connecticut to Friend, at least in a posture of Neutrality*; and that of the *Maquacs* being put to go to the *French*, as Instances only of one that wants to Sleep; and that of the Commission as what we had before, with this Intimation; that *Connecticut* hath also the Kings Broad Seal for their Corporation *Militia*.

PAM. In *Page 40*, he falls afresh to rating at us, *Do we not know, That to Levy War against the King, is High Treason [38] &c. That an Actual | Rebellion or Insurrection is a levying War against the King. That a gathering Forces for*

the Removal of Councillors Altering of Laws &c. is levying of War against the King. That the holding a Fort or Castle by force of Arms against the King and His Power is a levying War against the King &c.

ANS. 1. We must refer to what hath be said chiefly for answer to these things; to avoid vain and tedious Repetitions; but as these things are applyed unto us, we may say as *Nehemiah* to *Sanbalat* Chap. 6. v. 8. *There are no such things as though sayest, but thou feignest them out of thine own heart.*

2. Hath not *Connecticut* an uncondemned right to somewhat of a *Militia*? Why may we not in the reverss, charge as hard those that interrupt us; especially considering that the General Government is (under Their Majesties) yet in the Corporations hand, to which particular Officers (though by Patent) one would think should stand in some Subordination.

But it may be said, that we mistake him; he doth not charge us with Treason, levying War against the King; he layes it only as a ground to argue from, as he doth.

PAM. *What Construction then do we think it will have, If we shall be found to Rise in Arms against the Kings Lieutenant Publishing His Commission and Commanding Obedience unto it; and by Force and Arms, to with-hold the Militia, and all Forces by Sea and Land, and all Forts and places of strength, in a whole Colony or Province, from the King against His plain Commission Published under the great Seal?*

ANS. 1. The [if] that all this is propounded with, makes it like a wet *Eale*, hard to take any hold on, or how to use it; but he intends not to beat Air, but to strike us in these things; and because here he seems to clench most of his Coblery we say.

2. If he argue from the former of Treason &c. to this of our holding (which he will call with-holding) the *Militia*, that the latter is as great, as bad, as the former or worse;

then we did not mistake him; and indeed his sence Suites best his Scope in the whole Book. But,

[34] 3. If he argue from the greater to the lesser, there is no great force in it: for though it be Fellony to kill a Man, yet it is not so to kill a Fly; though a man may not Rob, yet he may stand a Tryal in Law, for what he hath held quietly a long time (on a good tenure) ere he Surrender; and if finally he should be Ejected, yet a Tryal is due to him, ere a delivery is due from him.

4. All along the *Pamphlet* begs, and not proves the main question; for he still runs away with this, that our Charter now gives us no use of any *Militia* at all; and on that Supposition he builds in a manner all his discourse; but this we differ from him in, and take it our right to have Their Majesties, and the Laws descission in.

5. What if after all this his Scuffle to bring our heads within his halter; the Charter and his Excellencies Commission, should be found to refer to divers *Militia*'s, the one to a Corporation *Militia*, as formed by the General Court to our necessity, and without which we are undone; and the other to the Kings *Militia*, according to the 13 and 14 of *Charles II.* Or, which is almost the same, that they should refer to the same *Militia*, in divers respects: Namely, the one to what of our *Militia* falls not within the verges of that Act forementioned, and the other to what of it that Act will on tryal, be found to Comprehend; will not this reconcile the Charter and Commission? Or what if the Law, or Their Majesties Grace, will firm our former and present Station in these things? these things are not only possible, but hopeful, and he might have staid his hand, and not have run out upon us as Traitors, as worse than *Turks* as dispisers of the King, as he doth, *Page 40. 41.*

6. A Contest with His Excellency, is not a Contest with the King; if *Ajax* and *Ulysses* strive for *Achiles* Armour, this makes neither an Enemy to *Achiles* nor the *Greeks*: if *Herod* and *Pilate* differ about Jurisdiction, neither is hereby

a Rebel against *Cesar*: Are not Contests about Rights to particular Commands frequent in the Courts of Princes? And though but one can prevail, yet is not the other made a Traitor for holding what he had till a decision be. The [35] *Pamphlet* || over charges, in saying (in a case thus Circumstanced) *That disobedience and Contempt offered to the Kings Ministers, redounds and is done to the King Himself* (for Connecticut is the Kings Minister also.)

PAM. But he is bold at all adventures, to affirm that besides, *other vile Indignities (not fit to be named) His Excellency is in danger of his very Life, such as assert their Allegiance and declare their Submission, run the same Hazard.*

ANS. This is not the first nor second time we have found him at the trade of Impudent Falsifying, as is before noted; His Excellency was with all freedom and safety among us, nor were his Servants or any hurt or assaulted in the least degree, that ever we heard of; true it is he lodging at a Publick house and Inn, there was a concourse of People of different perswasions, and that discourses, and disputes were many is without question, as there are on many Occasions; yet to raise such things to an hazard of His Excellencies Life, or others; is a false Inference; Can he say that any man shouldered a Gun, girt on a Sword, lift up so much as a Staff, or hand in such a way? we have a full account of the contrary, we are deeply injured therefore, thus to be represented to the World, as a Company of *Assasins*; and he that gave his *Imprimatur* to this, had reason enough to known the Contrary.

PAM. In *Page 42*, thus he sayes, *Some may imagine they have found a Neat way to defeat the Kings Commission, they will not take Commissions from His Lieutenant themselves, but will also deter others &c. . . . What? do we think he is to be put off with our Scurvy little tricks &c.*

ANS. Here he finds he touches ground, for all this while he hath been but floating, and hath contended only with words of the Courts &c. but when as not withstanding that

Indeavours were used, to find persons to take Commissions; and such an universal adherence to what was settled by the Charter was found in the People, as that those proposals would not take, and that this gave a *Remora* to all present further proceedings: the Observation of this puts the *Pamphleter* into this Rage, and passionate Exclamation against (whom he knows best) perhaps he meanes the Governour first, and then the Court, as thus perswaded. But [36] this is a groundless Surmise; it was the set and Spirit of those to whom such Commissions were offered, and of the whole Country in a manner, which they were sensible of that stood in the way; and needed not the adjuvancy of any of the Court to perswade to it.

2. Since the proceedings stoped here, he might have spared most of his Labour in taxing the Court with opposing (as he will call it) that Commission, and laying its present Ineffectiveness there where it centred not. Let this be well noted, and it will ease most of the other difficulties that are urged against us: Since it is run aground here in our *Pamphleters* own account, though it rubbed else where.

3. Yet is there reason enough to believe, that those few that were asked to take Commission (and they were very few indeed by all we can learn) and that at a second third or forth hand way (which may clear the most, and those few too, of refusing) none did it, nor any others would do it, in the least unwillingness to Serve Their Majesties, (for Them they Serve with their present Commissions) but as well understanding their previledg and Interest, from which a *Pamphlet* has not moved them; and the general sence and set of the People, is an argument of more weight in this affair, then we shall now insist on.

4. Yet the this using their Liberty, doth not render their Obedience to Their Majesties Arbitrary neither; nor is it a putting Them off with Scurvy little tricks; it is but a waiting to have that made clear in their Alteration (if it must be so) which yet is doubtful it seems to some.

5. Nor will this not taking Commissions meritt Their Majesties displeasure, as he suggests, *Page 43.*

6. Nor is it a necessary Consequence from not taking the Commissions so offered (if any were) that such are like, *the Citizens in the Parable that hated their Lord and that would not have Him Reign over them* (Nor that therefore His Majesty should or will say) *Those mine Enemies that would not that I should Reign over them bring hither and Slay them before me,* as *p. 43.*

7. Nor yet that we and our posterity shall be ruined, be declared Rebels, put out of Protection, be shut out of Com-[87] merce, be reduced by | force, kept under a strong Garrison be sorely Fined, fetch over some to *England*; as he gives his judgment in his way *Page 44.*

We must confess these things though hard, are a great abatement of what went before, of being Slain; But they only signify and are Effects of an *Incendiary*, and Horrible prejudication, on weak grounds, without any Authority; and for a close he shews how loath he is, that these things (or some of them) should not befall us; in these words, *and it is a new sort of Grace if They (Their Majesties) do nothing.*

It may be thought this man hath forgot that he writes in the Reign, and within the dominions of Just and Gracious KING WILLIAM and QUEEN MARY.

Now at last we have the Fish that has all this while, and with all this Baiting and Angling for been sought, as the pray, brought out; and the white all these Arrows Aimed at; set open in *Page 44, 45.*

PAM. *Let all good Subjects then Consider, and as they would deliver themselves from the Common Guilt, so let them distinguish themselves, and make hast to yield their due Obedience. And as for the Rest, we may say Father forgive them they know not what they do.*

ANS. We believe it will not be found in any Instructions from Their Majesties, that Their Commission to His

Excellency should be forwarded in these turbulent wayes, moving for Commotions among Their Subjects, who are in Peace among themselves; Save this and a few more Male contents (and so on other grounds than this business) and we perswade our selves, that it will displease them and all good men that shall Consider it, that private Persons should over the heads of those that here Serve Their Majesties in the Government; thus bespeak the People of this *Their Colony*: make such distinctions between them, and especially that the Holy Scriptures, the Laws and Their Majesties name, have been put to such ill uses, as are every where obvious, and that the same should have an *Imprimatur* also.

2. What he means by due Obedience, is evident from his Scope; but if any should ask how, or in what way shall [38] we yield it, as the case now stands? he sayes nothing by way of direction, for if he had its most probable that the executing it, would openly have Violated Peace, and Order, to beget an ill affection therefore against the present dispensations in the Government, and so to make way for some other, seems to be the drift of all this ill taken pains with the People. But surely our Settlement, or changes, must or should come from Their Majesties; and not by these meanes.

What follows is only several *Objections* (most of which are his own, not ours) and his Answer to them, to which we will briefly *Reply*.

1. *Objection.*

The Militia is very well disposed of all ready; King Charles the Second of happy memory, did by His Charter for Himself and His Successors, Grant it to us and our Successors, in the Year 1662.

It is too much to Transcribe his whole answer, the Sum of it is, *First*, what we overween our Charter. *Secondly*, That the King knows our Charter, and how the *Militia* was

disposed thereby. *Thirdly*, That the Charter never granted us a standing *Militia*. *Fourthly*, Nor to send men abroad. *Fifthly*, That what was granted was not to the General Court. *Sixthly*, Nor no places of Strength, Forts &c.

ANS. To all these things we need say no more, but that the clauses in our Charter, and those Equivalent, in the *Massachusetts* former Charter, and *Rhode-Island* Charter, were always understood and practized upon, as Commissionating a standing *Militia*, and the Rule of it to be next the King, first in the General Court, and that we could aid our Neighbours, hold Forts &c. without which he had been undone in the *Indian War*, and in no safety at any time.

But the discussion of these points is large, and of little use here: where the dispute is confined to the Supposed Competition of our Charter, and His Excellencies Commission, for the *Militia*.

2. He reasons all the Charter granted is void, because the *Militia* is a *Jewel of the Crown* not to be granted by the King from His Successors, it is like Abishag &c.

[39] *Reply*. 1. We need not it is in vain, and therefore we will not here meddle with that Question, how far in a Charter to a foreign Plantation a King may make a grant of the *Militia*, for and from His Successors; it is plain that such a grant there is; but we wave that here.

2. Yet we have before shewn, that the Kings *Militia* as settled by 13 and 13 and 14. of Charles II. is a distinct thing from the *Militia* as settled here; so that though the grant may not hold as to the former, against His Successors, yet it may as to the latter, as being no part of that undemissable Jewel of the Crown, as we suppose, and withal, that as yet is undistinguished in this *Colony*, from the other.

PAM. It is Answered by him in *Page 47*, *That our Succession was determined in 1688. So that we cannot talk of Succession or Successors, without some new grant.*

Reply. This indeed if it would hold does all the business at once, for our Charter is gone then, and we know

who hath played on this String all along since that year. Tis a large field, we will enter it no further now, than to say that as Good Judgments as we could get in *England* or *New-England* are otherwise. Nor have Their Majesties so declared yet of it, but rather otherwise: but this is in *England* where we leave it.

His *II. Objection*, which he makes in our name, is,

But we Suspect that this Commission is a Cheat, because the King was in Flanders at the Date of it.

ANS. This is to put a Cheat upon the World, and an abuse upon us, to render us as thus Objecting, like much of what is already detected, begetting Brats and Fathering them on the body of the People, on whom he does reflect in his Promiscuous Charge; to Render us Odious and Ridiculous; he claps a fools Coat on us, and then derides us in his Answers; but this is no disappointment to us whatever wrong it be, we could look for no better from a Per-[40] son so engaging | as he in this *Pamphlet*. He and his *Imprimatur* may be ashamed of such things. What if some few should quere at the rate of this Objection? Is it thereby a General Court or Colony Objection? the Court never in their answers, took it for other then a reality; as is plain by the Printed account of those Transactions.

His *III. Objection*.

The King hath given us no command to Surrender the Militia to His Excellency.

This he slights as a poor Shift, as if *Their Majesties Commission to His Excellency to Command were not Command for us to Obey &c.*

Reply. It is one thing for a Command to come to the Objects of it immediately, and another for it to come to them by a *Medium* (as the Government is where under they are.) Again, tis one thing for a Command to come without a Competiting Command, and another when tis other-

wise. *Thirdly*, Its one thing for a Command to be clear and indisputable in its intent, and another thing where tis not so.

If this Command must influence. (1.) The General Court and by them the People; if withal the General Court have a power to the same Command, and these powers are not cleared from interfering, in such a case, and when these also are depending for Issue, we say a Commission to Command is not immediately a Command to Obey, till those incumbrances are removed.

2. We have cause to believe, that the not ruling our right in the *Militia*, nor giving Orders for Surrendering: was done by Their Majesties, to give us the opportunity of applying to Them, in reference to it, in both the Commissions, or else as well our power as *Sir WILLIAM PHIPPS*, we think had been determined expressly.

3. Common reason suggests, that every one in trust, is to mind his own Orders, and Instances of this are plentifully discourst.

4. A Charter Grant is of that nature, that (so far as it is good) we think a particular Order does not null it, wherefore we lay not the stress of this matter chiefly there.

PAM. He sayes, *His Excellency Demands no Surrender of the Militia: But Obedience to His Commission, &c.*

[41] *Reply.* We ask, what was that Obedience he demanded of our General Court? or what Obedience were they Capable of herein as a General Court but a Surrender? Or why is our Court so faulted with opposition and disobedience all along; if they were capable of no Surrender? or had no demand thereof as here he saith? by this account their Audience, of the Commission, and not actually resisting his Executing it; was our Compliance, and discharge, and this he had to the full; and yet complanes.

PAM. The last part of his answer to this Objection, stands thus, *Did Their Majesties ever give Their Subjects any Command to yield Obedience to our resumed power? We lately*

received a Letter from Their Majesties; did Their Majesties therein or any otherwise give the People any imediate and express Command to obey us, in what we were thereupon about to do? Yet we expect Obedience from them, without any such Command, and are not we Their Majesties Subjects as well as the rest of the People?

Reply. This is a poor shift indeed: Is it reasonable or possible that every Individual Subject, in his private capacity, should have His Majesties particular command; as it is reasonable and possible, that a Body Politick or Publick Person should? Every Inferiour is to attend the Orders of his Superiour, but Their Majesties are our Superiours, we may expect Their Orders therefore, though our Inferiours must take up with ours.

His IV. Objection.

But we cannot manage our Government without the Militia.

ANS. This Objection is of great weight, and requires a large Consideration to handle it, but its to no purpose here to insist on it; only this is the general sence, that if all *Militia* be taken from us, the Civil part of the Government will be extreamply weakened, if not desolated thereby; things in this respect are not here as in *England*, as might be demonstrated if that were here to be done. The hitherto constant Conjoying of the *Civil* and *Military* power in the foreign Plantations, is evidence enough of the necessity of the one to the other. What is a Body without some what defensive and offensive, but a prey, or at anothers Arbitriment?

[42] His V. Objection. Is *Coincident* with the former, only he adds somewhat about our annexing to *York*.

Reply. We shall wave this for the most of it, as being no present inquiry whether it be good for us to be annexed to *York*? that is not our business; and though he speak of it as indifferent, or desireable, yet our People tis well known desire their old Station.

2. Whereas some mention is made there, of our aiding *Leisler*, which some may take in a wrong sence; we say that what we did therein, was only out of a sincere respect to Their Majesties, at the Solicitation of *Albany*, and of *Massachusetts*; and it is known that Persons of Honour came from *Massachusetts*, and one from *Plymouth*, and joyned with our Agents there, in that matter; and the State of that Province, and of affairs in general needed it, and it was not out of any sinister or personal respect to Mr. *Leister*.

3. His Suppositions of our Shouldering out the Kings Government, which he insists on, are meer Imaginations of his own, without any ground given to it by us.

His VI. *Objection* about *Rates* are impertinent; and the complaints of the *Long-Islanders*, though loud, is not our business; unless it be to wish that others espoused no more the complaints of *Male contents* here, than we do theirs, who they give that name to there.

His VII. *Objection*.

That the Governour of York is a Proud Moross Stearn and Auster Man &c. And His VIII. *Objection*, *That he is a Papist*.

Reply. We say to these in Sum, what we said to his second *Objection*; Let the Reader turn to it, and when these are not our *Objections*, 'tis hard to be falsly taxed and thereupon to be further reproached as there; *Viz. Who knows when the Devil and his Children, will have done Lying and Slandering....*(and calls us) *a Rude, Proud, Ungoverned, Disorderly People, as we have declared ourselves to be: And more to that effect as there it follows.*

Reply. If these his dealings with our Colony be not [43] *Rude, Proud, Ungoverned and Disorderly*, we think never any such will be found in *Paper and Ink*. As to what *Encomiums* he is pleased to give His Excellency, we need to say nothing of it.

PAM. For a farewell, and as the Sum of all, to give our Character as we stand in his account, he cites at large, I *Sam.* 10. 26. 27. *There went with Saul a Band of men whose hearts God had touched, but the Children of Belial said, How shall this man save us? and they dispised him &c. But he held his Peace.*

Reply. Who these Comparisons intend is notorious; we have only this kindness from him therein; that he tells not the World how small a number that Band he aludes to, was; for then in all probability, it would have been known that he had called almost all the men in *Connecticut Colony*, Children of *Belial*: And there is one thing in it, that is Extreamly and to Admiration strange, and that is; that since his *Saul* was so wise as to hold his Peace, that he (one of his followers) should be so very foolish, as to write so much (and in the manner as he hath) about it.

PAM. Lastly, he cites *John* 1. 46. *Nathaniel said can any good come out of Nazareth? Philip sayes to him, come and see.*

Reply. We leave it to the Sober and Pious, whether he did not begin, go on, and hath not ended in a dreadful prophanness; Contrary to the *Third* Commandment, which enjoyns the true and Reverend use of the Holy Scriptures.

FINIS.

JOURNAL OF ROGER WOLCOTT

AT THE

SIEGE OF LOUISBOURG,

1745.

[Roger Wolcott, then Deputy Governor and in the 67th year of his age, the oldest man in the army except the Rev. Mr. Moody, accompanied the expedition to Louisbourg in the capacity of Major General. His Journal kept during that period seems to be deficient at the beginning. The Manuscript was given some six and thirty years since, by the Wolcott family, to Rev. Thomas Robbins, D. D., late librarian of the Connecticut Historical Society, and is now the property of the Society. In printing it the spelling has not always been followed, and in the French some slight corrections have been made of obvious errors in transcription from original documents. C. J. H.]

Thursday 30th [of May, 1745.] The scout returned from the North Harbour brought in seventeen prisoners, who gave account that in the skirmish last Tuesday the enemy lost about 40 men, the rest were scattered in small parties without provisions or ammunition. At night the French burnt the houses without the wall at the south-east gate, and laid a boom before the town to prevent landing from sea.

Friday 31st. The general officers attempted to go on board the commodore, but were prevented by the fog, so returned and sent him a letter. The prisoners in the camp were sent on board the transports.

Saturday June 1st. This morning a great fire of small arms between the advanced battery and the enemy on the wall; we received no hurt. The enemy mounted nine cannon to play upon our guards at the advanced battery; upon examination we found we wanted shot to dismount them, and we sent to enquire for shot on board the French prize.

A brig of about 15 tons, from Brest, was taken, laden chiefly with wine and brandy.

Sunday, 2d. Our people grow better, and the cannon-ading continues.

Monday, 3d. The general with some of his officers went on board the commodore. Nothing was concluded upon. We heard the enemy had beset Annapolis. A vessel arrived from Boston with a thirteen inch mortar and some powder.

Delivered commissions to Major E. Goodrich, Capt. Henry King, Lieut. [Samuel] Torry, Ens. Tho. Leeds.

Tuesday, 4th. The sickness much abated. Our scout under Maj. Gilman killed a Frenchman and brought in 17 prisoners. Capts. Tyng and Rouse were dispatched to raise the siege at Annapolis. A rice ship which had been taken by the Vigilance was retaken, which the commodore generously gave back to the owners. Bosch landed his carriages at the light-house, and from the two-gun battery red-hot shot were discharged into the town; the mortar was carried to the cohorn battery.

Wednesday 5th. Col. Gorham's regiment got forward the light-house battery; in the night a deserter came from the city, who says that the inhabitants are 8,000, of whom 700 are soldiers, 100 of whom would desert if they had opportunity, that they are resolved to hold out to the last, that their provisions will last till September, that we had killed and wounded about ninety in the town, that 116 of our men [who] were taken at the island battery are alive prisoners in the town. We were advised that 700 French and Indians, who had beset that place, were moved off and were coming hither to assault us, whereupon it was resolved to intrench and fortify the camp.

Thursday, 6th. We found our ammunition so far spent that orders were given to the batteries to cease firing. By this time the two-gun and advanced batteries had broken down the top of the west gate and the wall nigh it, as

low as the glacis, and dismounted the guns at that place, and dismounted all the guns in the circular battery except three, many of the embrasures being broken to pieces and the wall in a shattered condition, and damaged a small battery below it; they had likewise dismounted the guns planted on a large bastion at the north-west end of the citadel, the embrasures and wall being very much shattered and broken.

Friday, 7th. Most of the prisoners were put on board the transports to be carried to Boston under the convoy of Capt. Clark Gayton. The fortifications round the camp are carrying on, but little firing for want of ammunition.

Saturday, 8th. Having obtained some supplies from the ships, the fire between the batteries and town was very furious till about eleven, when Capt. McDonald went into the city with a flag, and carried a letter* from the Marquis [de la Maison Forte,] late commander of the Vigilance, informing Monsieur Duchambon that he was taken and with the other prisoners used very well, and that he was informed that the French king's subjects with the Indians had murdered sundry English prisoners after they had surrendered, that this was unworthy and unbecoming the French nation, and that the English army before the city deeply resented it, &c. After delivering the letter Capt. McDonald warmly expostulated with them on these acts of barbarity, as also about their perfidy to the inhabitants of Canso, in that after they had capitulated to send them to New England, by threatening to send them to France they extorted a promise that they would not act in the war against them. The acts of barbarity they said were done by the Indians, contrary to the persuasions of their missionaries, and the affair of Canso was the act of their late governour. Capt. McDonald told them that their missionary had persuaded the Indians to kill the English, as a meritorious act, they being hereticks; that we had now 700

* A translation of this letter is printed in Mass. Hist. Coll., 1, 43.

prisoners, and thereby an opportunity to repay them in their own kind, but 'twas below the spirit of an Englishman, yet it was possible to provoke us to it.

By the flag we learn that nigh 100 of our men who were taken at the island battery were alive in the town.

Sunday, 9th. Resolved in council to remove the large mortar to the light-house battery and to perfect the same. The Chester, a 50 gun ship, joined the fleet and brought news of two 60 gun ships coming. I went up the bay to send home Miles with the sick and some prisoners. Two Swiss deserters from town informed that there are about 400 soldiers in the town and 200 at the island battery, that the sum total of the inhabitants are about 1300, that we had killed about 50, that they were short of it for provisions and ammunition, that more would desert if they had opportunity, that the island battery was very strong.

Monday 10th. I sent home Capt. Miles with the sick and prisoners. The fire began at the light-house battery; we finish entrenching our camp.

Tuesday, 11th. Being the anniversary of his majesty's accession to the throne, the general officers went on board the commodore, were generously entertained, and assured by him that he would come into the harbour with the ships.

Wednesday, 12th. The Sunderland and Canterbury, two sixty gun ships, and the Lark, a 40 gun ship, with the store ship and one prize ship of 26 guns, joined the fleet. The commodore sent for oakum and moss to line his sides, and that he would come in with his ships the first fair wind, sent the general his line of battle and signals and his instructions to his several captains, and that he expected six hundred men from the camp to go in with him, besides those taken out of the cruisers to man the Vigilance, and that the men with the boats and shallows at the grand battery should be ready to enter the town with his men at the signal given, and that the army should make an attack

on the land side as it had been formerly agreed. Accordingly the soldiers brought to the water side several tons of oakum and moss, and officers appointed to see that the boats, shalloways and ladders were ready accordingly. Two guns more were added to the two-gun battery. The scout returned without any discovery.

Thursday, 13th. The oakum and moss were sent off to the commodore; the transports in the bay to the number of 54 sailed out to the fleet to supply them with wood, water and seamen; there appeared an extraordinary cheerfulness in the army from the hopes of a speedy victory; another 42 pounder was added to the two-gun battery, now to be called the five-gun battery.

Friday 14th. The great mortar was carried to the light-house battery, which by three in the afternoon had five guns mounted with which they played furiously and to good effect on the island battery. Most of the land men who were to go on board the ships embarked; 200 shot were brought on shore; the five-gun and advanced batteries played furiously on the town; in the night the enemy threw 45 shells at the advanced battery. I bought a blanket, shirt and pair of hose for Chequips, cost £6.5.0. Towards night I was taken ill with a cholick. Delivered commissions to Lieut. Jonath. Read, Lieut. Samuel Pettibone, Ens. Joseph Wait, Ens. Jonath. Noble.

Saturday, 15th. The rest of the landmen went on board; the commodore came ashore, had the troops drawn up, he told them he should go in with his ships which could discharge 364 guns on [the] town at once, that if the town did submit to his cannon he was determined to land in person at the head of his seamen; he exhorted them to enter bravely, like Englishmen, on the land side, which would be to the honour of their country, themselves, and their latest posterity; which speech the troops answered with three cheerful Huzzas. This day the fleet before Louisbourg consisted of the following vessels of force,

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders' Names.</i>
Superb,	415	64	Peter Warren Esq ^r ; Commodore.
Princess Mary,	400	60	Capt. Edwards.
Vigilance,	420	60	Capt. Douglas.
Sunderland,		60	
Canterbury,		60	
Hector,	250	40	Capt. Cornwall.
Eltham,	250	40	Capt. Durell.
Launceston,	250	40	Capt. Calmady.
Mermaid,	250	40	Capt. Montague.
Chester,		50	
Lark,		40	
Prize ship,		26	
Annapolis store ship,			Kitchenman.

Resolved in Council to enter at the west breach when the commodore came in, which he declared should be the next fair wind.

About seven Monsieur Lapperell came out of the city with a flag of truce, with a letter* from Monsieur Duchambon desiring that all hostilities might cease till he could call his council and determine upon what terms to deliver up the town; to which he was answered that he should be allowed till eight in the morning, by which time if they should surrender themselves prisoners of war they should be used with humanity.

This day sixteen out of eighteen shells that were thrown from the light-house battery fell into the island battery.

Sunday, 16th. Monsieur Laron returned the terms upon which the town should be delivered. This day the terms of capitulation were completed and settled, a copy whereof is as follows,

*Demand made and terms agreed upon for the surrender of
Louisbourg &c. to his Britannic majesty's obedience.*

* A copy of this letter is found further on, a translation of it is printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1, 45.

Summons sent in to the commanding officer of Louisbourg.

The Camp before Louisbourg, May 7th 1745.

Whereas, there is now encamped on the island of Cape Breton, near the city of Louisbourg, a number of his Britannic majesty's troops under the command of the Hon^{ble}. Lieut. General Pepperell, and also a squadron of his said majesty's ships of war, under the command of the Hon^{ble}. Peter Warren Esq. is now lying before the harbour of the said city, for the reduction thereof to the obedience of the crown of Great Britain,

We, the said William Pepperell and Peter Warren, to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, do in the name of our sovereign lord, George the second, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, &c. summon you to surrender to his obedience the said city, fortresses and territory, together with the artillery, arms and stores of war thereunto belonging. In consequence of which surrender, we, the said William Pepperell and Peter Warren, in the name of our said sovereign, do assure you that all the subjects of the French king now in said city and territory shall be treated with the utmost humanity, have their personal estate secured to them, and have leave to transport themselves and said effects to any part of the French king's dominions in Europe.

Your answer hereto is demanded at or before five o' the clock this afternoon.

To the Commander in chief of the W. PEPPERELL.
French King's troops, in Louisbourg, P. WARREN.
on the Island of Cape Breton.

Answer to the foregoing.

A Louisbourg, le dix-huitième May 1745.

Nous, Louis Duchambon, Chr. de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Lieutenant du Roy, Commandant pour sa Majesté très Chrétienne des Isles Royalle, Canceau, St. Jéans, et terres adjacentes.

Sur la sommation qui nous a été faite à jour septième May, vieux stile, de la part du Sieur honorable Pepperell, lieutenant général commandant les troupes qui forment le siège de Louisbourg, et du Sieur honorable Pierre Warren, commandant l'escadre des vaisseaux du roy de la Grande Bretagne, mouillée près du port de la dite ville, que nous ayons à lui remettre la dite ville avec ses dépendances, artilleries, armes et munitions de guerre, sous l'obéissance du roy leur maistre;

Le Roy de France, le nôtre, nous ayant confié la défense de la dite isle, nous ne pouvons qu'après la plus vigoureuse attaque écouter une semblable proposition, et nous n'avons de réponse à faire à cette demande que par la bouche de nos canons.

A Messieurs Pepperell et Warren, DUCHAMBON.
commandant les troupes et les vaisseaux
du Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Read to the army in English, answer, Huzza, Huzza, Huzza.

Letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

Voulant faire cesser les actes d'hostilité, et arrester l'effusion de sang de part et d'autre, je vous envoie un officier de notre garnison pour vous remettre la présente, aux fines de vous demander une suspension d'armes pour le temps qu'il me sera nécessaire pour vous faire les propositions aux conditions des quelles je me détermineray à vous remettre la place que le Roy mon maistre m'a confiée.

Je suis avec toute la consideration possible,

Votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur.

DUCHAMBON.

A Messieurs Pepperell, Lieutenant Général, commandant les troupes de S. M. Britannique formant le siège devant Louisbourg, [et] Warren Equyer, commandant l'escadre [des] vaisseaux de guerre [de] sa dite Majesté, mouillée devant le dit Port de Louisbourg.

Answer to the foregoing.

Sir,

We have yours of this date proposing a suspension of hostility for such a time as shall be necessary for you to determine upon the conditions of delivering up the garrison of Louisbourg, which arrived at a happy juncture to prevent the effusion of Christian blood, as we were together and had just determined upon a general attack; we shall comply with your desire until eight of the clock tomorrow morning, and if in the mean time you surrender yourselves prisoners of war, you may depend upon humane and generous treatment.

Camp, June 15th 1745, We are your humble servants,
 ½ past 8 o'clock P. M. P. WARREN, W. PEPPERELL.
 Mr. Duchambon, Governour of Louisbourg.

Second letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

J'ai reçu la réponse que vous m'avez faite à la lettre que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous écrire hier. Les conditions auxquelles vous voulez me recevoir sont trop dures, et vous me rendrez assez de justice, je pense, pour être persuadés que je ne puis [point] les accepter. L'officier que je vous envoie est chargé de vous remettre les articles de capitulation que je vous propose. C'est à ces conditions que je consentirai à vous remettre la place que [le] Roy mon maistre m'a confiée.

Messieurs, j'ai l'honneur d'être, avec toute la considération possible.

Votre très humble serviteur,

A Louisbourg 17me Juin,
 1745.

DUCHAMBON.

à Messieurs,

Messieurs Warren, Chef d'escadre de sa Majesté Britannique, et Pepperell, Lieutenant Général commandant les troupes de sa dite Majesté Britannique, qui forment le siège de Louisbourg.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION PROPOSED BY MR. DUCHAMBON.

Articles de Capitulation proposés par Mr. Duchambon, Chev'r. de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Commandant pour S. M. très Chrétienne à l'Isle Royale, à Mr. Warren et Pepperell, commandant l'escadre et les troupes de S. M. Britannique qui forment le siège de Louisbourg.

Article premier.

Il sera permis aux habitans de l'Isle Royale et autres isles de la dépendance de le gouvernement religieux et religieuses de passer en France, en Canada, ou aux Isles Françoises de l'Amerique, ou de demeurer dans la colonie en jouissants de leur biens.

2.

Que les habitans qui voudront passer en France, en Canada, ou [aux] isles Françoises de l'Amerique, pourront vendre leurs meubles et biens immeubles, et ce pendant l'espace de deux ans à compter du jour de l'evacuation, et d'en emporter le prix sans difficulté qu'il leur sera donné des passeports à cet effect.

3.

Qu'il sera fourny par les assiégeans les bâtimens nécessaires pour transporter en France, en Canada, ou aux isles Françoises de l'Amerique, les habitans qui voudront sortir de la colonie pendant la présente année.

4.

Que la religion catholique apostolique romaine sera maintenue dans la ville et lieux de la dépendance ainsi qu'elle y est présentement établie pour tous les habitans qui voudront y demeurer.

5.

Que les missionnaires qui dirigent les sauvages dans le dit gouvernement et dépendances n' seront permis [à être] inquiétés dans leurs fonctions, et il leur sera permis de faire ex-

ercer parmy les dits sauvages la religion catholique apostolique et romaine.

6.

Que les bâtimens de mer appartenants aux sujets de sa majesté très chrétienne coulés à fond ou autres échoués en le port ou dans l'étendue de le gouvernement pourront sortir de la colonie pendant la présente année avec leurs provisions agrées et artillerie et autres effects à eux appartenants pour se rendre en France, en Canada, ou aux isles Françoises de l'Amerique, et que si en faisant route il survenoit un vent contraire qui les obligeat de se lâcher dans un port appartenant à l'ennemy, ils ne pourront pour ce sujet être réputés de bonne prize, et au contraire il leur sera donné tous les secours nécessaires avec passeport et escorte suffisante.

7.

Le commandant ny l'ordonnateur ny qui que ce soit de la garnison ne pourront être inquiétés ny recherchés pour les dommages qui ont été causés ou faites par les nécessités de la guerre, soit dans la ville ou ses dépendances par le feu, dégradation des maisons, enlevement des bestiaux, ou autrement.

8.

Les debtes legitiment contractées pour le service du roy, ou par les officiers, ou autres de la garnison, seront monnoïées et suretés données pour le payement d'icelles sans que pour ce sujet on soit tenu de donner otage ny nantissement de quelque nature que ce soit.

9.

Il sera fourny par les assiégeans deux chariots couverts dans lesquelles le commandant pourra faire mettre ce que bon lui semblera sans que sous quelque pretexte que ce soit l'ennemy puisse non seulement* ceux qui seront dedans pourront y être masqués ou deguisés comme il leur plaira.

* Mr. Wolcott, in copying from the original document, has evidently omitted some words here.

10.

Les officiers et soldats, et tout autre militaire de la garnison, lesquels sont blessés ou malades et hors d'état d'être transportés pourront rester dans les hospitaux ou dans les loges où ils sont actuellement avec les gens nécessaires pour en avoir soin jusqu' à ce qu'ils soient en état d'être transportés, le tout aux frais de l'assiégeant, et lorsqu'ils seront guéris ou en état de sortir il leur sera fourny par les assiégeans des passeports [et] voitures aux frais de sa Majesté Britannique pour qu'ils puissent se rendre au même lieu où la garnison se sera retirée.

11.

Les prisonniers faits de part [et] d'autre seront rendus reciproquement sans rançon, et quelque nombre qu'ils se trouvent avoir été pris depuis le jour de l'investiture de la place jusques à celui de la cessation des hostilités.

12.

Nul des assiégeans ne pourra sous quelque pretexte que ce soit interrompre la marche de la garnison lorsqu'elle sortira, ny entrer dans les rangs pour y débaucher les soldats et les y faire désertier et ce quand bien même les dits soldats en seroient consentans, au quel cas ils seront rendus sur le champ et les infracteurs punis, et le présent article subsistera jusques au jour de l'embarquement de la garnison.

13.

Il sera marqué, suivant que les commandants François et Anglois en conviendront entre eux, un quartier hors de la ville pour y faire demeurer les troupes et les habitans qui voudront se retirer avec la dite garnison jusques au jour de leur embarquement, dans lequel poste les dites troupes feront la garde, et il sera défendu de la part des généraux Anglois, aux sauvages de leur nation d'en approcher sous quelque pretexte que ce soit.

14.

Le commandant et ordonnateur, les officiers de l'état major de la place, le commissaire de guerre, contrôleur et autre officier de plume, le trésorier, les ingénieurs, les canoniers, bombardiers, avec toutes les troupes de la garnison, leurs femmes, enfants, domestiques, meubles et équipage, chaque soldat ayant vingt coups à tirer, avec six pièces de canon de grosse artillerie et deux mortiers de douze pouces, ayant chacun un ou deux affûts de rechange et aussi vingt coups à tirer pourront sortir de la place par le port qui conviendra pour se rendre au quartier qui leur aura été assigné trois [jours] après la ratification des présents articles, les troupes armées, tambours bastant, drapeaux déployés, pour se retirer au quartier qui leur aura été assigné jusques à leur embarquement.

15.

Que les assiégeans fourniront aux frais et dépenses de sa majesté Britannique au commandant, à l'ordonnateur, à l'état major, à la garnison et [aux] autres dénommés dans le précédent article, les bâtimens nécessaires pour les transporter en France à Rochfort.

16.

Les assiégeans, feront subsister, aux frais et dépenses de sa majesté Britannique, la garnison jusques à son arrivée en France, ainsy que tous les habitans qui se joindront aux troupes pour passer en France.

17.

Moyennant les conditions accordées de bonne foy, lesquelles seront entendues à la lettre après que les ratifications en auront été échangées, et les otages reciproquement donnés pour la sureté commune et la foy promise, les assiégeans leveront aux troupes de sa majesté Britannique la porte de la reine, sous la voûte intérieure de la quelle il sera construit une barrière dont le dedans sera gardé par [les]

assiégés et le dehors par les assiégeans, les uns et les autres observant de ne laisser entrer ny sortir qui que ce soit sans le consentement des généraux François et Anglois qu'après l'entière évacuation des troupes.

Fait a Louisbourg le 14^{me} Juin 1745.

DUCHAMBON.

Answer to the foregoing.

Camp before Louisbourg June 16th 1745.

Sir,

We have before us yours of this date, together with the several articles of capitulation on which you have proposed to surrender the town and fortifications of Louisbourg, with the territories adjacent under your government to his Britannic majesty's obedience, to be delivered up to his said majesty's forces now besieging said place under our command.

Which articles we can by no means concede to, but as we are desirous to treat you in a generous manner we do again make you an offer of the terms of surrender proposed by us in our summons sent you 7th of May last, and do farther consent to allow and promise you the following articles, viz:—

First. That if your vessels shall be found insufficient for the transportation of your persons and proposed effects to France, we will provide such a farther number of vessels as may be sufficient for that purpose, also any provisions necessary for the voyage that you cannot furnish yourselves with.

Secondly. That all commission officers belonging to the garrison, and the inhabitants of the town, may remain in their houses with their families and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and no person shall be suffered to molest or misuse any of them till such time as they can conveniently be transported to France.

Thirdly. That the non-commission officers and soldiers shall, immediately upon the surrender of the town and

fortresses, be put on board some of his Britannic majesty's ships till they can also be transported to France.

Fourthly. That all your sick and wounded shall be taken tender care of in the same manner with our own.

Fifthly. That the commander in chief now in the garrison shall have liberty to send off two covered wagons, to be inspected only by one officer of ours, that no warlike stores may be contained therein.

Sixthly. That if there are any persons in the town or garrison which you shall desire may not be seen by us, they shall be permitted to go off masked.

The above we do consent to and promise upon your compliance with the following conditions.

First. That the said surrender and due performance of every part of the aforesaid premises be made and completed as soon as possible.

Secondly. That as a security for the punctual performance of the same, the island battery, or one of the batteries of the town, shall be delivered, with all the artillery and warlike stores thereunto belonging, into the possession of his Britannic majesty's troops before six of the clock this afternoon.

Thirdly. That his Britannic majesty's ships of war, now lying before the port, shall be permitted to enter the harbour of Louisbourg without any molestation, as soon after six of the clock this afternoon as the commander in chief of said ships shall think fit.

Fourthly. That none of the officers, soldiers, or inhabitants of Louisbourg, who are subjects of the French king, shall take up arms against his Britannic majesty nor any of his allies, until after the expiration of the full term of twelve months from this time.

Fifthly. That all subjects of his Britannic majesty, who are now prisoners with you, shall be immediately delivered up to us.

In case of your non-compliance with these conditions we

decline any farther treaty with you on the affair, and shall decide the matter with our arms.

P. WARREN, W. PEPPERELL.

Mr. Duchambon.

Third letter from Mr. Duchambon.

Messieurs,

Il n'est point expliqué dans les propositions que vous m'avez faites aujourd'hui la façon dont les troupes sortiront de la place pour être embarquées sur vos vaisseaux: je ne puis consentir à les laisser sortir sans qu'ils aient leurs armes et les drapeaux déployés, qui sont les honneurs deus à des troupes qui ont fait leur devoir. Lorsque les dites troupes seront à bord on pourra serrer leurs armes sous condition qu' on les leur remettra en sortant des vaisseaux pour qu'elles descendent armées sur les terres de France. Cet article accepté de votre part, je consens aux autres, et j'en-voy deux officiers en otage comme vous en enverrez deux de votre part pour la sûreté de l'exécution des articles que vous nous avez adressés.

Je suis [avec] toute la considération possible,

Messieurs, Votre très humble serviteur,

A Louisbourg le 1^{er} me Juin,

DUCHAMBON.

1745.

A Messieurs,

Messieurs Warren, Ecuyer, Chef d'escadre des armes navales de S. Majesté Britanique, et Pepperell, Lieutenant Général de troupes de sa dite Majesté, au camp devant la ville de Louisbourg.

Answer to the foregoing.

Camp before Louisbourg, June 16th 1745.

Sir,

I have yours by an hostage, signifying your consent to the surrender of the town and fortresses of Louisbourg and territories adjacent, &c. on the terms this day proposed to you by Commodore Warren and myself, excepting only

you desire your troops may march out of the garrison with their arms and colours, to be then delivered into our custody 'till said troops' arrival in France, at which time to have them returned to them; which I consent to and send you an hostage for the security of the performance of what we have promised, and have sent to Commodore Warren,* that if he consents to it also, he should send a detachment on shore to take possession of the island battery.

W. PEPPERELL.

Monsieur Duchambon.

Sunday, 16th. About six, afternoon, the commodore took possession of the island battery.

Monday, 17th. About noon the commodore with his ships entered the harbour. At five, afternoon, the lieutenant general, with drums beating and other warlike musick, entered the south gate, where the keys of the town were delivered to him.

Tuesday, 18th. Five hundred of the French regular troops went on board. I was taken with a violent nephritic pain, and went on board Doane. Capt Prentice took a ship of three hundred tons from Bordeaux.

Wednesday, 19th. We had news of 2,500 French and Indians coming down to distress our camp, whereupon we detached a number of men to defend it.

Thursday, 20th. Weather very foggy and wet, as it has been ever since we took the city.

Friday, 21st. Weather still wet and foggy, by which those at the camp suffer much. I came on shore, had a comfortable house provided. Bennet was dispatcht for Boston. I was in extremity with my pain all night.

Saturday, 22d. Still foggy. It was discoursed in council how this affair should be represented at the British court. My pain continues violent.

*Pepperell's letter to Warren, with the latter's reply, is printed in *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 1, 45.

Sunday, 23d. Weather thick. Publick worship was attended in town.

Monday, 24th. Council sat. Resolved that it was necessary to repair the breaches made in the walls and barracks, and that the army should do it, and that they should be allowed five shillings per diem, New England, old tenor currency, for that service. The guns were drawing back to be remounted in their proper places.—Coit, Mumford and Robins' vessels, and Lakeman the pilot taken into [the] king's pay.

Tuesday, 25th. Still foggy, not an hour's sunshine since we entered the city, the utmost dispatch used to get the vessels ready to transport the prisoners to France.

Wednesday, 26th. Resolved in council to send immediately for governour Shirley. This is the first fair day since we came to town.

Thursday, 27th. Was spent in removing the camp and filling the vacant embrazures in the town with cannon from the ships.

Friday, 28th. In council resolved that the general, Col. Moor, and Mr. Williams should go as agents to Great Britain, and that the publick town stock of flour should be better secured, and the vessels are fitting to transport the prisoners to France.

Saturday, 29th. I was much bowed down with pain and sickness. The cannon were still moving to fill the vacant embrazures.—Left a power of attorney with Col. Burr to take care of my part of the plunder.

News arrived that Capts. Fones, Donahew and Beckwith had an engagement with the French and Indians at Tack-quamuash, on the 18th inst. being a party of eight hundred who were coming from the siege of Annapolis to the assistance of Louisbourg. Donahew had like to have been taken, but was rescued by the others. Many of the enemy were slain, but not a man hurt on our side.

Sunday, 30th. In the forenoon heard Mr. Moody in the

French chapel. P. M. council sat, resolved to repair the city and walls at the king's cost; a committee was appointed to take care of the plunder, that distribution may be made thereof according to justice. The French and their effects are continually going on board the transports for France.

Monday, July 1st. Cannon from the Launceston were mounting in the vacant embrasures. The French with their effects still moving on board. Our carpenters at work in repairing the city houses.

Tuesday, 2d. Excessive stealing in every part of the town. I went to view the island battery and from thence on board the Diamond, Ephraim Doane, Capt. to return to New England, with 77 men, mostly invalid, myself very weak and full of pain.

Having now passed through what I am to act in this memorable siege, attended with so much danger and hard service, I have time to make a short pause and take a retrospect of this expedition in the projection, prosecution and success of it.

It was projected at Boston last winter; that government resolved to send 3,000 land forces and what shipping they could make. His excellency governour Shirley informed his majesty of the intended expedition by the first opportunity, and sent an express to Commodore Warren in the West Indies to assist in it, and messengers were sent to the neighbouring governments to come into the expedition.

At the first laying of the design in Boston, it was contrived to take the town, grand and island batteries while the enemy were asleep, but if that failed, to proceed by cannonading or storm, as a council of war should determine.

In the prosecution of this design the Massachusetts and New Hampshire sent 3,250 land forces into the service, with what ships of force they had and needful transports.

Connecticut sent 500 land forces in transports, with Capt. Prentis in the Defense Sloop with 100 men for the sea service. Rhode Island sent Capt. Fones in the Tartar with 90 men. Gov. Clinton sent ten eighteen pounders from New York.

These forces all met at Canso April 25th 1745, and left 100 men with eight cannon to fortify that place; 400 men, under the command of Col. Moulton, were ordered to reduce St. Peters; and on the 29th day the fleet set sail from Canso for Cape Breton, and on the 30th, about one of the clock P. M. they arrived in Chapeaurouge Bay, near Flat Point. We are now ready for landing 3250 men for the land service furnished with sixteen eighteen-pounders, two nine-pounders, three mortars, 1 thirteen, 1 eleven, and 1 nine inch diameter, and a suitable number of shot and shell, with about 500 barrells of powder.

Altho' commonly the surf runs so high that there is no landing, yet now it was favourable to a wonder, and as soon as the whale boats were let down our men flew to shore like eagles to the quarry; the enemy soon advanced to meet the first that landed, at whose appearance our men made no stop but prest on upon the enemy, and at our first discharge the enemy fled, some of them were killed, some wounded and some taken prisoners; in the encounter we lost none but had two or three slightly wounded; the landing continued with utmost dispatch, and the men as soon as on shore prest forward thro' the forest to the town, being about three miles; in their passing they gave and received several shot from the enemy, in which none were lost on our side.

Our resolute landing and beating the enemy back to the town, struck such a terror on them that they abandoned the grand battery with the cannon, great shot and shells that were there; they burnt several of their houses without the town, and retired within their walls. This night our men lay in the forest without any regular encampment.

The next morning Sergt. Leeds with some Indians entered the royal battery, and about sixteen of our men drove back about eighty of the enemy who were returning from the town to the royal battery, and upon Brigadier Waldo's desire, his regiment was put into it.

We now spent several days in landing our tents and stores, fixing our camp, setting up our store-houses and hospitals, sending out advanced parties to meet any of the enemy that might be patrolling about and reduce the adjacent settlements. Workmen were employed to drill the cannon at the grand battery, which the enemy had plugged up, others were employed to view the ground where we might erect our batteries to the best advantage. As soon as the cannon were freed, they began a very brisk fire upon the town to the great annoyance of the enemy.

Our advanced parties met parties of the enemy which they constantly beat, and from the adjacent settlements brought in many prisoners, and things being settled respecting our camp and store-houses, &c., it was agreed to erect a battery at the green hill, being about 1760 yards west of the town. To this place from the landing, being about a mile and quarter, we drew our mortars, cannon, and carried our powder, ball and shells, over stony hills and deep morasses; all done in the night because the way was exposed to the shot from the walls. From hence we played upon the town without any great success, unless by the shells from our great mortar, which fell within the walls, and here we constantly received the great shot and shells from the town. Upon further consideration it was resolved to remove the cannon from the green hill to the cohorn battery, standing about 880 yards westward of the town, which was accomplished accordingly, and from thence we played with better success upon the town, but unhappily split our great mortar by a shell bursting within it. We also erected the advanced battery about 200 yards distance from the north-west gate, and the two-gun battery,

being about 880 yards north of the town; these two batteries were furnished with cannon from the royal battery. The advanced battery beat down the west gate and the walls near it, and dismounted several cannon on the walls, the shot passing through the houses in the town; the two-gun battery dismounted the cannon on the circular battery and raked the town from end to end, driving the inhabitants out [of] their houses into their casemates, where many of them sickened and died.

Notwithstanding, it was feared the town could not be taken unless the ships came in and a general storm was given by land and sea, and some of the ship captains thought the king's ships ought not [to] be so exposed to the enemy until the island battery was reduced, therefore the reduction of that battery became the matter of our greatest attention. It was resolved to attempt it in the night, by landing men in whale boats; four times this was attempted but failed without landing a man, but on the night after the 26th of May, about 400 volunteers undertook it and chose Capt. Brooks for their leader, a number of them landed, but 'tis uncertain how many—as soon as they were perceived by the garrison the battery was in a blaze from their cannon, swivells and small arms, their langrell cutting boats and men to pieces as they were landing, yet those who landed maintained a desperate fight for two hours and a half to the amazement of the enemy—at length some few of them got back into their boats and returned, 189 were left behind, 120 of which were found prisoners when the town was taken, and 69 perished in the attempt.

Col. Gorham's regiment had for some time been stationed on the light-house side in order to erect a battery there to annoy the island battery, and upon this defeat that battery was hastened, the perfecting of it was attended with much difficulty and delay, but by the 14th of June with the large mortar that came from Annapolis and five eighteen-pounders he played successfully on the island battery, breaking

down some of the embrasures and driving the French out of the battery into the sea. Our fire from the grand battery and other batteries had greatly distressed the enemy in the town and island battery, and time was very precious with us; we had now been encamped 47 days in an enemy's country, far from any English settlements that might give us relief, the French and Indians in the adjacent parts were numerous, we were in danger of a surprise from them, especially those that were gone off from Annapolis, who we heard were advancing towards us; our stores were fast spent, and the weather (though favorable to a wonder hitherto) was much to be feared, the climate being usually covered with palpable fogs and much rain, in which case no business could be done, and we must suffer very much in our camp and trenches.

But now, in this difficult and critical hour, the Sunderland, Canterbury, and Lark, having joined the fleet, the captains of the ships agreed to the commodore to bring in the ships before the town and storm it by land and sea, and on the 15th of June the honorable commodore came on shore and informed us of his resolution to come in with his ships, and that from his broadsides he could discharge 364 guns on the town at once; it was then agreed in council to storm the town by land and sea the first fair wind to bring the ships into the harbour, but this was happily prevented by a flag of truce coming out the same day towards night, proposing to enter into a capitulation for surrendering the town; the capitulation was finished the next day, the town &c. surrendered to his Britannic majesty, and on the 17th we took possession of the town and island battery and advanced the union flag upon the walls. By this the effusion of much Christian blood was prevented, as also much damage that would likely have been done to the ships and town, now all belonging to the King of Great Britain.

And now our victorious army is in the town, the weather very wet, the officers and soldiers have no plunder to re-

ceive nor a house to put their heads in, the goods being by the capitulation given to the inhabitants, and their houses till they could remove.

This city and port was doubtless intended by the French king as a place of strength from whence his forces might issue forth to destroy the English shipping in these parts, as also their settlements on Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and Canso, if not New England itself, and the reducing of it to his majesty's obedience will have a tendency to establish and enlarge the English trade and plantations in North America.

This action will appear to be such a conquest as we seldom meet with in history, if we consider the smallness of the army, how ill they were provided, with their other circumstances, together with the strength of the fortifications they overcame.

Of the army I have already spoken, the fortifications come now to be considered, and here,

First, the royal battery, which is a fort scarcely matchable in the French king's dominions; towards the sea it is strong and regular, about twelve feet high to the embrasures, it mounts 30 large cannon and from the bastions the cannon sweep the whole face of the walls; towards the land it is defended with a wall on the back side of the barracks, 14 feet high from the bottom to the eaves, then you must go up a spar eleven feet covered with slate, as smooth as ice, when you are got to the top your slipping down into the battery is equal to a fall of 14 feet upon the stones; the back of the barracks is well fitted with loopholes for the discharge of small arms against the assailants, at each end of the wall is a tower fitted with loopholes, and higher up for swivels to sweep the wall from end to end; on the back of the barracks is a ditch ten feet deep and twelve feet wide, the bottom covered with water and mud, the outside of the ditch is a wall ten feet high, beyond this a breastwork with pickets, with a glacis not quite finisht; it was judged 200 defendants would be more than a match

against 5000 that should attempt it without cannon, and cannon could not be brought against it without drawing them four miles in very bad way.

Secondly, the island battery, built in the midst of the water, upon a clump of rocks, and in the most beautiful and regular manner, the face of the wall is 27 rods in length, it mounts 80 twenty-two pounders and has two brass mortars besides swivels, and is furnisht with a magazine; it is accessible but at two places, and those so streightened with rocks that three boats can hardly land abreast, the landing at the gate is strongly guarded by the battery, and that on the back side is so exposed to the surf from the ocean that it is a rare thing to find a time when the boats can come ashore.

Thirdly, the city itself, supposed to equal Barcelona in strength by some that have seen both, the walls toward the land are from twenty to thirty feet high and about 40 feet thick up to the platform, and above that in some places about thirteen, and in others about eight feet wide, built in so regular a manner that there is not a face in the wall but what is swept by the cannon on the bastions. Without the wall is a ditch in some places four and in some places ten rods wide, without that a stone wall of about eight feet high, without that a breastwork with pickets and a glacis, under which the ground is prepared for springing mines; on the water side the walls are from twelve to fifteen feet high, but considering how it was guarded by the water, by pickets, and a boom to prevent access to the walls, and how it is furnisht with cannon and swivels to annoy the assailants and sweep every face of the wall, it is judged as difficult to assault it on that side as any. The wall is furnisht with 148 embrasures, and had mounted 101 cannon and 76 swivels; within the walls are five brass and one iron mortar and all warlike stores. When we sat down before it there were 1700 defenders mustered in arms; it cost us 49 days siege, in which time we bore the continual fire of the

enemy, which our troops cheerfully sustained and returned their fire back upon them till they surrendered. The French themselves acknowledge the undaunted resolution of our men and say they were wild men without fear, and doubtless both officers and soldiers deserve an honourable respect from their country.

And here with respect to the two chief commanding officers by land and sea.

The Honble. General Pepperell ever spoke cheerfully to the army with respect to the success; his health supported him to go through the whole fatigue; the expence of his bountiful table may be supposed to exceed his pay. In a word, under his conduct the city was taken.

The Honble. Peter Warren Esqr., commodore of the ships, doth justly claim of all those who shall speak of this siege to remember his name with honour, for without him the whole design would have been abortive; his expedition in coming from the West Indies, upon the first notice, brought him before the harbour of Louisbourg to block it up before the New English forces arrived. During the whole siege he defended us from the enemy by sea, without which we certainly should have been their prey; he took several French ships and vessels coming to Louisbourg, and especially he brought his own ship within pistol shot of the *Vigilant*, a new French ship of 64 guns and 550 men, which he took in a few minutes with the loss of two or three men only; he supplied us out of the prizes and his own stores with powder, ball, &c., when we wanted, without which we could not have gone on with the siege; he always express a cheerful resolution to do every thing in his power to promote the service, and to bring in the ships before the town if he could be advised to it as consistent with his duty and the trust his majesty had reposed in him for the safety of his ships, and being at last advised to it by the captains at sea, he came into a resolution with the land officers to storm the town by land and sea and to

bring in his ships before the town, and he would doubtless in a few hours [have] been in the hottest of the enemy's fire had not the capitulation prevented it, and we may justly suppose that the awe the enemy had of the ships was one cause why they surrendered.

But why do I speak of men, 'tis God has done it and the praise belongs to him alone. God hearing the prayers of his people, by many signal instances of mercy has led us on from step to step to victory.

Let us stand and see the salvation of the Lord, first by bringing in the forces and the ships from such different and distant places, just at such time as would serve for our success.

Secondly, by giving us fair weather at our landing and during the siege, as has not been known in the memory of man in this country usually covered with palpable fogs and rains in this season for the greatest part of the time, and this is more remarkable, for altho' the fair weather generally continued until we entered the city, yet the rain and fog came on before we could reach the intendant's house, and continued for eight or ten days very severe, which the French took notice of and said, if the English had not come into the town it would have been fair weather still.

Thirdly, by the great health afforded us, for altho' about the 27th of May it was judged we had about 800 sick in the camp it proved mortal to but few.

Fourthly, by causing our enemies to become bread to us by their surrendering up the royal battery, cannon, shells and great shot that were there, without which we could have done nothing, and by the supply of powder and shot, &c. afforded us out of the Vigilant and other ships taken by sea, without which we could not have gone on.

Fifthly, by the wonderful protection of our lives from the fire of the enemy; at our batteries those who kept the account say that we discharged 9657 great shot and shells against the town, besides small shot in abundance, and 'tis

supposed the fire of the enemy did equal if not exceed ours; in the last 24 hours of the firing they sent 74 large shells to our batteries, and several of them fell in the trenches, the ground about our batteries was plowed up like a cornfield, and the earth as it were covered with broken shells, and yet we lost not 20 men by the fire from the town, and about 180 in all.

Sixthly, by intimidating our enemies to surrender up the royal battery without a blow, and afterwards the city, which considering the breastwork, pikes, boom, and several other things by which they had strengthened it during the siege, was more defensible when we entered it than when we first sat down before it. This is the Lord's doing and it was marvellous in our eyes.

This town of Louisbourg has a very large and good harbour before it, and it is easily (if not already) made impregnable by sea, it is seated in the gulf of the Bay of St. Lawrence, in the way of shipping and commerce between the River St. Lawrence and the West Indies, and in the midst of the fishery in those seas; by its natural situation and the great strength the French king has added to it, it seems formed to make Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and the islands in the Bay of St. Lawrence and the Gut of Canso dependent upon it, and its being under his majesty's obedience secures all these to the crown of Great Britain and will be a better estate to the nation than the mines of Peru are to the crown of Spain; it is a place of that importance that there is no doubt his majesty will secure and settle it under his government, and to facilitate this, I wish his majesty would graciously set up a civil government there with liberty of conscience to all Protestants, and that God would spirit teachers after his own heart to go there and teach the people the good knowledge of his word.

So prays

ROGER WOLCOTT,

Maj. Genll. to the Army.

Wednesday, 3d. Wind S. by E. Showery, a fresh gale. Stood S. W. About 3 P. M. entered the harbour of Canso, saw a ship in the offing. This night Col. Choat came on board who had the first news of our success at Canso, he informed us that the Massachusetts had raised 1000, and Connecticut 200, recruits for the army, and that he was come with the first of them.

Thursday, 4th. Lay all day becalmed at Canso, saw a ship to the westward of the harbour which gave us some fear. Maj. Cutter came on board and invited me on shore, which I accepted; he entertained me very generously and paid me the military honours of his battery and guard; he kept a very good discipline among his men, and has done much in fortifying the place since we left Canso.

Friday, 5th. Wind N. E. We sailed out of the harbour, stood away all that day and the next night.

Saturday, 6th. This day we tacked off and on to the shore, at 12 o'clock, by observation, were in 43.59.

Sunday, 7th. Wind S. W. Stood in for the land. About sunset were in for Port Segnior, about 30 leagues eastward of Cape Sable. Little wind this day.

Monday, 8th. Wind S. W. Discovered 12 fishing vessels, those we spoke with had not heard the news of our taking Louisbourg. Little wind this day.

Tuesday, 9th. In the morning were up with Cape Negro, 7 leagues east of Cape Sable. A small N. E. gale, the current setting strong against us made slow way, yet by noon were up with Cape Sable.

Wednesday, 10th. A small gale at N. E. which died away after noon. Our latitude 42.30.

Thursday, 11th. Wind S. W. Stood N. W. by W. Our latitude 42.58. Saw sundry whales and an innumerable company of herring, hogs and black fish, playing about us. At 9 stood off, at three stood N. W. till morning.

Friday, 12th. We made a stretch to the northward, saw a privateer standing for us, we prepared to engage, but it

proved to be Capt. Saunders come since us from Louisbourg. The wind very scant, our latitude 42.16.

Saturday, 13th. Found our wood and water very short, so we stood in for land, and by ten discovered Agamenticus, by three were in with the Isle of Shoals, we tried to turn up to Cape Ann but the wind failed.

Sunday, 14th. Wind sprung up at E. N. E. We stood for Cape Cod, and by five in the afternoon were up with it, a little to leeward of Race Point, the weather thick and but a hogshead and half of water left, we went into Cape Cod harbour and anchored there; about 30 of our soldiers upon their desire went ashore to go home by land.

Monday, 15th. After supplying ourselves with water, about nine came to sail, wind E. N. E. When we came up with Race Point the wind died away; toward nine, wind sprung up at South but veered toward the West. This night we stood along the Cape Shore, and by morning were up with Sandy Point.

Tuesday, 16th. Wind west. We turned up over the shoals westward through Butter's Hole and at night anchored nigh the Horse Shoe.

Wednesday, 17th. Sailed over the remainder of the shoal ground with a fair wind which died away when we were abreast of Holmes Hole. About one the wind sprung up at S. W. We turned through the Vineyard Sound and by night were up with Seconnet. Turned westward all night.

Thursday, 18th. In the morning were abreast of Point Juda. Wind at S. W. a brisk gale. Turned to windward, past through Fisher's Island Sound and by sunset were at anchor in New London harbour. Saluted the fort at the harbour's mouth with three swivels, which returned one cannon, and the town with seven, which returned an equal number. I was received by a number of gentlemen on the wharf who gave me a hearty welcome, took my lodg-

ings at Mr. Miller's. Very weak and out of health. Here I tarried until,

Monday, 22d. I went with Mr. Griswold to Lyme, where I tarried until,

Saturday, 27th. I set out from Lyme with my son Erastus, arrived at Middletown about sunset, very weary. Quartered at Mr. Sage's.

Sunday, 28th. Heard Mr Russell.

Monday, 29th. Went forward in company with six gentlemen to Weathersfield. Weather very wet.

Tuesday, 30th. Col. Whiting with his troop and sundry gentlemen from Hartford and Weathersfield came to me at my lodgings, from whence they attended me to my own house at Windsor, where we arrived about two, afternoon. Here we had a good dinner, drank some bowls of punch &c., and after the discharge of the great artillery and small arms, gave three huzzas and parted good friends.

R. WOLCOTT.

CONNECTICUT OFFICERS AT LOUISBOURG.

[From the original document, presented to the Society by Rev. Henry M. Goodwin.]

A List of the Officers in the Connecticut Regiment, under the Command of Lieut. General Pepperell, at the Reduction of Louisbourg, and Territories depending, to the Obedience of his Britannick Majesty, and garrisoned the same untill relieved by the British troops.

Officer's Names.	Quality.	Time of entering into the Service.	When preferred or died.	When returned to New England.
Simon Lothrop,	Lieut. Col.,	March 1, 1744,	1745,	1746.
	Colonel,		October 29,	July 1st.
Elizur Goodrich,	Capt.,	March 1, 1744,		
	Major,		June 3,	
	Lieut. Col.,		October 29,	July 1st.
Daniel Chapman,	Capt.,	March 16, 1744,		
	Major,		October 29,	July 1st.
Adonijah Fitch.	Capt.,	May 30th,		July 1st.
Samuel Chapman,	Do.,	May 30th,	Jan'y 15, died,	
David Seabury,	Do.,	December 7,		July 1st.
William Throop,	Do.,	Jan'y. 16, 1745,	May 4, 1746, died.	
William Throop,	Lieut.,	March 16, 1744,	Jan. 15,	1746.
David Seabury,	Do.,	" 16, "	December 6,	July 1st.
William Smithson,	Do.,	" 16, "		July 1st.
Samuel Pettybone,	Do.,	June 14, 1745,		July 1st.
Jonathan Read,	Do.,	June 14, 1745,		July 1st.
Nathan Whiting,	Ensign,	March 16, 1744,	December 8,	July 1st.
John Darling,	Do.,	" 16, "	" 6,	July 1st.
Jabez Barlow,	Lieut.,	May 30,		July 1st.
John Parker,	Ensign,	" 30,	May 17, 1746, died,	
John Darling,	Lieut.,	December 7,		July 1st.
Nathan Whiting,*	Do.,	" 9,		July 1st.
Nathl. Lothrop,	Do.,	" 12,		July 1st.
John Hurlburt,	Do.,	" 12,		July 1st.
Norman Morrison,	Do.,	" 13,		July 1st.
Zacheus Hoble,	Ensign,	Feb'y 3,		July 1st.
Samuel Gaylord,	Do.,	" 4,		July 1st.
Adjutant				
John Darling,		March 14, 1744,		July 1st.
Simon Backus,	Chaplain,	March 15, 1745, died.	

These may certify that the Gentlemen whose names are contained in the above List were Officers in the New England Army, under my Command at the Reduction of Louisbourg to the obedience of the King of Great Britain, and served in the Capacities as above specified, and garrisoned said Louisbourg until relieved by the British Troops.

Boston, New England,

April 26, 1748.

WM. PEPPERELL.

* Lieutenant in Col. Pepperell's Regiment.

PAPERS RELATING
TO THE
EXPEDITION TO TICONDEROGA,
APRIL AND MAY, 1775.

I.

JOURNAL OF CAPT. EDWARD MOTT.

[For this interesting narrative of the origin, progress, and successful result of the expedition from Connecticut, for the reduction of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, the Society is indebted to Daniel C. Gilman, Esq., who recently discovered it among the papers of Col. Christopher Leffingwell, now in the possession of Mrs. A. R. Street, of New Haven.

Captain Edward Mott, of Preston, had been appointed, in April, 1775, to the command of a company in Col. Parsons's regiment. From the inquiries addressed to him "about the situation of the people of Boston," it appears that he had lately returned from the American camp when summoned to Hartford to take the conduct of the expedition to Ticonderoga; and had probably marched with one of the volunteer companies which the Lexington alarm called to the vicinity of Boston. After Ticonderoga was taken, Capt. Mott returned to Hartford, to report the success of the expedition, and was immediately dispatched by Governor Trumbull to Philadelphia, to communicate the intelligence to Congress. His company had meanwhile marched to the north, under Lieutenant Throop, to join Col. Hinman's regiment at Ticonderoga,—where, before the first of June, Capt. Mott resumed his command, and was in service with the northern army until the end of the campaign of 1775, and was present at the taking of Chambly and the surrender of St. John's. His elder brother, Samuel, was appointed by the General Assembly, in May, 1775, engineer at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; in August following was commissioned by Congress chief engineer of the northern army, under General Schuyler; and, in July, 1776, was appointed colonel of one of the six battalions to be raised in Connecticut, for service at the north,—having previously been employed by the council of safety, to superintend the building of works of defence at New London, Groton, Stonington, and other points on

the coast. Capt. Edward Mott was charged with the immediate supervision of the works at Groton, and was commandant of the fort from February to July, 1776—when he was promoted major of Col. Gay's regiment. The zeal, devotion, untiring activity, and distinguished services of the brothers Mott, in the army of the Revolution, and for the defence of the colony, demand more ample commemoration than they have hitherto received, or than can appropriately be accorded to them in this place.

The journal was addressed "To Christo. Leffingwell Esqr.," at whose desire it was drawn up, as appears by the following letter, for which we are also indebted to Mrs. Street. J. H. T.]

ALBANY 17th July, 1775.

Kind Sir: I arrived here last evening from New York, where I had been sent by Col. Hinman to acquaint the Provincial Congress of this Province with the situation of the troops and garrisons in this Northern Department.

I received your letter by my brother at Ticonderoga the day before I left that place, in which you desire me to furnish you with a journal of our proceedings when we first went to take possession of that garrison. I should have made out a journal of our transactions before this time and have transmitted it to you, but have not had one single days leisure since I joined the army. I have been twice from Fort George to Ticonderoga, which are forty miles distant, before I set out for New York, so that I have been on fatigue the whole of the time.

This journey to New York hath been very fatigueing, as the weather hath been extremely hot and dry, and the roads extremely dusty. Shall answer your request as soon as have leisure sufficient.

I am very sorry to hear that there is any uneasiness amongst our people in Connecticut about the appointment of the general officers by the Continental Congress. A gentleman in New York shewed me a letter he had from his friend in Hartford acquainting him that there was great un-

easiness almost universally amongst our people on account of General Putnam being appointed by the Congress, and Generals Wooster and Spencer neglected; the letter also informed that the most part of the officers in Connecticut service, now in the camp near Boston, had petitioned our Assembly to have something done about that matter.

I fear what the consequence would be, if our Assembly should undertake to say or do anything about it, as there are many men in this country that want precedents, though on different principles, to find fault with the doings of the Continental Congress,—hope none of the New England Colonies will serve as precedents for them in any such case.—Desire you would write me every opportunity.

I am, Sir,

Sincerely your most

Obedient humble servant,

EDWARD MOTT.

To Christopher Leffingwell, Esqr.

PRESTON, Friday, 28th April, 1775. Set out for Hartford, where I arrived the same day. Saw Christopher Leffingwell, Esq., who inquired of me about the situation of the people of Boston. When I had gave him an account, he asked me how they could be relieved, and where I thought we could get artillery and stores. I told him I knew not, except we went and took possession of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, which I thought might be done by surprise, with a small number of men. Mr. Leffingwell left me, and in a short time came to me again and brought with him Samuel H. Parsons* and Silas Deane, Esqrs., when he asked me if I would undertake in such an expedition as we had talked of before. I told him I would.

* See Col. Parsons's letter to Joseph Trumbull, (VIII.)

They told me they wished I had been there one day sooner; that they had been on such a plan, and that they had sent off Messrs. Noah Phelps* and Bernard Romans,† who they had supplied with £300 in cash, from the Treasury, and ordered them to draw for more if they should need; that said Phelps and Romans were gone by the way of Salisbury, where they would make a stop; they expected a small number of men would join them; and if I would go

* Of Simsbury. See Phelps's History of Simsbury, pp. 94, 95. On the 9th of May, while the party were at Castleton, Mr. Phelps went in advance to Ticonderoga, where, "having disguised himself, he entered the fort in the character of a countryman wanting to be shaved. In hunting for a barber, he observed every thing critically, asked a number of rustic questions, affected great ignorance, and passed unsuspected. Before night he withdrew, came and joined his party, and in the morning guided them to the place of destination."—*Gordon's Amer. Revolution*, II., 13.

† Bernard Romans was of foreign birth, and had but recently become an inhabitant of Hartford. He was living at Pensacola, in 1773; had been employed as an engineer in the British service for "fourteen years back;" had "been sometimes employed as a commodore in the king's service, sometimes at the head of large bodies of men in the woods, and, at the worst of times, had been master of a merchantman fitted in a warlike manner."—(*Letter to N. Y. Committee*.) He was a man of respectable talents, literary as well as scientific and professional. In 1775, he published, at New York, "A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida," &c., with engravings designed and executed by himself; and, in 1778, at Hartford, the first volume of "Annals of the Troubles in the Netherlands," &c., which he dedicated, by permission, to Governor Trumbull. (The second volume was published in 1783.)

It appears from Capt. Mott's narrative that Romans separated from the party at Bennington, and was not at the taking of the fort. He was at Ticonderoga soon afterwards, where he made himself useful in providing for the removal of the ordnance, &c., and was commended by Arnold as "an able engineer," and "a very spirited, judicious gentleman." In August or September, 1775, he was employed by the New York committee of safety to prepare plans and estimates for works of defence on Hudson's River, was appointed engineer of the province, with the pay of a colonel, and intrusted with the erection of Fort Constitution, and other fortifications in the Highlands. But, before the close of the year, he had quarreled with the provincial commissioners, and, having been refused a commission as colonel, at work.—(*Amer. Archives*, 4th series, II., 585, 645; III., 732-4)

after them, they would give me an order or letter to them to join with them, and to have my voice with them in conducting the affair and laying out the money; and also that I might take five or six men with me. On which, I took with me, Mr. Jeremiah Halsey, Mr. Epaphras Bull, Mr. Wm. Nichols, Mr. Elijah Babcock, and John Bigelow* joined me; and Saturday, the 29th April, in the afternoon, we set out on said expedition. That night arrived at Smith's in New Hartford: stayed that night. The next day, being Sunday, the 30th April, on our way to Salisbury, Mr. Babcock tired his horse; we got another horse of Esq. Humphrey† in Norfolk, and that day arrived at Salisbury; tarried all night; and the next day, having augmented our company to the number of sixteen in the whole,‡ we concluded it was not best to add any more, as we meant to keep our business a secret and ride through the country unarmed till we came to the New Settlements on the Grants. We arrived at Mr. Dewey's in Sheffield, and there we sent off Mr. Jer. Halsey and Capt. John Stephens, to go to Albany in order to discover the temper of the people in that place, and to return and inform us as soon as possible.

That night, we arrived at Col. Easton's in Pittsfield,

* Jeremiah Halsey, of Preston, was a lieutenant in Capt. Mott's company. The others were of Hartford.

† Capt. Mott's receipt to Michael Humphrey and Giles Pettibone, Esqrs., dated Norfolk, April 30, 1775, for a horse, "supplied for our service," appraised at £16, 10s. is in "*Revolutionary War*," Vol. III., Doc. 45.

‡ The journal of Capt. Mott, and documents in the State Archives, supply the following names of Connecticut men in the expedition:—Capt. Edward Mott, Lieut. Jeremiah Halsey, of Preston; Epaphras Bull, Wm. Nichols, Elijah Babcock, Capt. John Bigelow, Bernard Romans, of Hartford; Capt. Elisha Phelps, Noah Phelps, of Simsbury; Ashbel Welles, (whose team carried the baggage, &c., of the party from Hartford;) Capt. John Stevens, of Canaan; Samuel Blagden, (afterwards lieutenant-colonel in Sheldon's Light Horse,) Josiah Stoddard and Levi Allen, of Salisbury; Capt. Ezra Hickok, Thomas Barber, 3d, and (probably) Gershom Hewitt.

where we fell in company with John Brown Esq.* who had been at Canada and Ticonderoga about a month before; on which we concluded to make known our business to Col. Easton and said Brown, and to take their advice on the same. I was advised by Messrs. Deane, Leffingwell and Parsons, at Hartford, not to raise our men 'till we came to the N. Hampshire Grants, lest we should be discovered by having too long a march through the country; but when we advised with said Easton and Brown, they advised us that as there was a great scarcity of provisions in the Grants, and as the people were generally poor, it would be difficult to get a sufficient number of men there,—therefore we had better raise a number of men sooner. Said Easton and Brown concluded to go with us, and Easton said he would assist me in raising some men in his Regiment. We then concluded for me to go with Col. Easton to Jericho and Williamstown to raise men, and the rest of us to go forward to Bennington and see if they could purchase provisions there. We raised 24 men in Jericho, and 15 in Williamstown, and got them equipped ready to march. *May 2.* Then Col. Easton and I set out for Bennington. That evening, we met with an express from our people informing us that they had seen a man directly from Ticonderoga, and that he informed them that they were re-inforced at Ticonderoga, and were repairing the garrison, and were every way on their guard,—therefore it was best for us to dismiss the men we had raised, and proceed no further, as we should not succeed. I asked who the man was, where he belonged,

* John Brown, Esq., then a young lawyer of Pittsfield—afterwards a distinguished officer in the army of the Revolution. He is named, in Allen's dispatch to the Massachusetts Congress, as having "greatly contributed to the taking of the Fortress," and by Capt. Mott, as "an able counsellor, full of spirit and resolution, as well as good conduct."—(*Amer. Archives*, 4th series, II., 556, 560.) He was sent to carry intelligence of the successful result of the expedition to the Congress at Philadelphia. His account against the Colony of Connecticut, for "14 days' service in the expedition to Ticonde-

and where he was going, but could get no account: on which I ordered that the men should not be dismissed but that we would proceed.

The next day I arrived at Bennington. There, overtook *May 3.* our people, all but Mr. Noah Phelps and Mr. Heacock who were gone forward to reconnoiter the Fort, and Mr. Halsey and Mr. Stephens had not got back from Albany. I inquired why they sent back to me to dismiss the expedition, when neither our men from Albany nor the reconnoitering party were returned? They said they did not think that we should succeed. I told them that fellow they saw knew nothing about the garrison; that I had seen him since, and had examined him strictly, and that he was a lying fellow and had not been at the fort. I told them with the two hundred men that we proposed to raise, I was not afraid to go round the Fort in open light; if it was re-inforced with five hundred men, they would not follow us out into the woods; that the accounts we had would not do to go back with, and tell in Hartford. While on this discourse, Mr. Halsey and Stephens came back from Albany, and both agreed with me that it was best to go forward; after which, Mr. Halsey and Mr. Bull both declared that they would not go back for no story, 'till they had seen the Fort themselves. On which it was concluded that we would proceed; and as provisions were very scarce on the Grants, we sent Capt. Stephens and Mr. Hewitt to Albany New City to purchase provisions and send to us, as soon as they could: and Mr. Romans left us and joined no more; we were all glad, as he had been a trouble to us, all the time he was with us.

Then we proceeded to raise the men as fast as possible, and sent forward men on whom we could depend, to way-lay the roads that lead from those places we were raising men in to Fort Edward, Lake George, Skenesborough, Ti-

roga, at 6 sh. per day," horse hire and expenses, amounting to £9, 1s., 9d., (rendered in June, 1775,) is in "*Revolutionary War Papers*," III., 52.

conderoga or Crown Point,—with orders to take up all those who were passing from either of those garrisons and send to us to be examined, and that all who were passing towards those garrisons, from us, should be stopped, so that no intelligence should go from us to the garrisons; and on Sunday night, the seventh of May, we all arrived at Cassel Town [Castleton,] the place where we had appointed for the men all to meet: and on Monday the 8th of May, the Committee all got together, to conclude in what method we would proceed in order to accomplish our design,—of which Committee, I was Chairman.

And after debating on the different methods to proceed, and in what manner to retreat in case of a repulse, we resolved and voted, that we would proceed in the following manner, viz: that a party of thirty men, under the command of Capt. Herrick, should, the next day in the afternoon, take into custody Major Skene and his party, and boats; and that the rest of the men, which consisted of about 140, should go, through Shoreham, to the Lake, opposite to Ticonderoga; and that a part of the men that went to Skenesborough should, in the night following, go down the Lake, by Ticonderoga, in the boats, to Shoreham, in order to carry men across the Lake to Ticonderoga. We also sent Capt. Douglas to go to Crown Point, and see if he could not agree with his brother-in-law who lived there, to hire the king's boats, on some stratagem, and send up the Lake from there, to assist in carrying over our men. It was further agreed, that Col. Ethan Allen should have the command of the party that should go against Ticonderoga, agreeable to my promise made to the men when I engaged them to go, that they should be commanded by their own officers.

In the evening after, the party that was to go to Skenesborough was drafted out, and Col. Allen was gone to Mr. Wessells, in Shoreham, to meet some men who were to come in there, having received his orders, at what time he

must be ready and must take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga,—the whole plan being settled by a vote of the Committee.*

In the evening, Col. Arnold came to us, with his orders,† and demanded the command of our people, as he said we had no proper orders. We told him we could not surrender the command to him, as our people were raised on condition that they should be commanded by their own officers. He persisted in his demand, and the next morning he proceeded forward to overtake Col. Allen. I was then with the party that was going to Skenesborough, a mile and a half distance from the other party. When Col. Arnold went after Col. Allen, the whole party followed him, for fear he should prevail on Col. Allen to resign the command, and left all the provisions, so that I, with Capt. Phelps and Babcock, was obliged to leave the party that I was with, and go with the packhorses with the provisions, and could not overtake them till the first division had crossed the Lake. We followed them, as soon as the boats

* Capt. Edward Mott, Noah Phelps, Col. James Easton, and Epaphras Bull, signed, as "Committee of War for the expedition," the remonstrance against Arnold's proceedings.—(*See Amer. Archives*, 4th series, II., 556.) Capt. Elisha Phelps was also a member of the committee—as appears from his letter. (Doc. III.)

† Arnold was commissioned by Connecticut, in April, captain of the 5th company in Wooster's regiment. But he had raised a company of volunteers in New Haven, marched to Cambridge and joined the American Camp on Saturday, the 29th of April, (the day after Capt. Mott and his party left Hartford.) Having made a statement to the Massachusetts committee of safety of the condition of the fort at Ticonderoga, the number of cannon there, &c., he procured from the committee, on the 3d of May, a commission a "colonel and commander-in-chief over a body of men not exceeding four hundred," to be enlisted for the reduction of Ticonderoga.—(*Amer. Archives*, 4th series, II., 450, 485.) He arrived at Castleton on the evening of the 9th of May, "not having enlisted one man, nor do we know," wrote the committee of war, "that he has or could do it," and "presumed to contend for the command of the forces that we had raised, *who we had assured should go under the command of their own officers and be paid and maintained by the colony of Connecticut.*"—(*Id.*, 556, 558.)

got back, and when we got over they were in possession of the Fort. We entered the Fort immediately, and soon got the Regular troops under guard, and their arms all in our possession. This was done on Wednesday, the 10th of May.* After which, Col. Arnold challenged the command again, and insisted that he had a right to have it: on which, our soldiers again paraded, and declared they would go right home, for they would not be commanded by Arnold. We told them, they should not, and at length pacified them; and then reasoned with Arnold, and told him as *he had not raised any men, he could not expect to have the command of ours*. He still insisted that as we had no legal orders to show, he had a right to take the command. On which I wrote Col. Allen his orders, as followeth, (viz.)—

To Col. Ethan Allen.

Sir. *Whereas*, agreeable to the Power and Authority to us given by the COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, we have appointed you to take the command of a party of men and reduce and take possession of the garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, and as you are now in possession of the same,—You are hereby directed to keep the command of said garrison, for the use of the American Colonies, till you have further orders from the Colony of Connecticut or from the Continental Congress.

Signed per order of Committee,

EDWARD MOTT, *Chairman Committee.*

Ticonderoga, May 10th, 1775.

* See Allen's letter to the Massachusetts Congress.—(Doc. IV.)

II.

CAPTAIN MOTT'S ACCOUNT OF HIS EXPENSES IN THE EXPEDITION TO TICONDEROGA.

[From the State Archives, "Revolutionary War," Vol. III., Doc. 84.]

THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT

To EDWARD MOTT

Dr.

1775. To sundry expenses on account of raising men to take, and taking possession of the Garrison of Ticonderoga and its dependencies, in May, 1775:—

April 26.	To expenses from Preston to Hartford,.....	£	0	5	0	
	To expenses at Hartford, while consulting what plan to take or where it would be best to raise the men,.....		0	15	0	
30.	To expenses of six men at New-Hartford, on our way to New-Hampshire grants, to raise men,.....		0	18	11	
May 1.	To expenses at Norfolk,.....		0	15	0	
	To expenses at Shaftsbury,.....		0	7	8	
	To expenses in Jericho, while raising men,..		1	0	5	
	To expenses of marching men from Jericho to Williamstown,.....		1	4	0	
	To expenses at Allentown,.....		0	6	8	
	To expenses at Manchester,.....		2	4	6	
	To expenses at Newport,.....		0	16	0	£ 8 13 2
	To expenses at Pawlet,.....		1	3	3	
	To expenses at Castleton,.....		1	6	0	
	To cash to Elias Herrick for his and Asa Ed- dy's expenses,.....		1	4	0	
	To cash to Wm. Nichols Esq. for expenses,..		4	0	0	
	To cash to Epaphras Bull for expenses,....		4	0	0	
	To cash to a teamster for carting provisions,		0	6	0	
	To cash to Capt. Noah Phelps for expense,.		1	0	0	
	To cash to Elijah Babcock,.....		6	0	0	
	To cash to Col. Ethan Allen's wife,.....		3	0	0	
	To cash to Col. Warner's wife,.....		2	0	0	£23 19 3
	To a horse, cost me £20 in cash, which I wore out in riding to raise the men, and going to Ticonderoga, so that I was obliged to leave her and get another horse to ride back to Hartford,.....		20	0	0	

TICONDEROGA EXPEDITION.

To my expenses from Ticonderoga back to Hartford, after we had taken the Fort,...	£ 2 14 0
To my time, or wages, while gone on said service, and going from Hartford to Phil- adelphia to report to Congress, by Gov- ernor Trumbull's orders—being between 30 and 40 days—much of the time, night and day,.....	20 0 0 £42 14 0
	<hr/> £75 6 5

Hartford, Jan. 20, 1778.

Errors Excepted.

per EDWARD MOTT.

Hartford, Jan. 20, 1778. Major Edward Mott personally appeared and made solemn oath that the above account is justly and truly charged, in every article,
Coram,

O. ELLSWORTH, *Just. Pacis.*

III.

LETTER FROM CAPT. ELISHA PHELPS,* COMMISSARY, TO
THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

[From the original, in the possession of Learned Hebard, Esq., of Lebanon.]

SKENESBOROUGH, May 16th, 1775.

To the Honourable General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut in New England, America, now sitting at Hartford.

Gentlemen of the House: I now would endeavour to state before you the situation of the affairs of these northern frontiers, and the army, and fort, and our proceedings from the beginning. When we left Hartford, our orders was to repair to the Grants of Hampshire and raise an army of men, as we thought proper, to go and take the Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and Major Skene &c., and to destroy the Fort, or keep it and send an express to Al-

* Capt. Elisha Phelps, of Simsbury, (brother of Capt. Noah Phelps,) was the commissary of the expedition. He was subsequently (June, 1775,) appointed by Gov. Trumbull, commissary of provisions, for the northern army, and served until his death, in 1776.

bany and see if they would keep it, or send to the Colony of Connecticut. Upon which orders we went to Pittsfield, and Col. Easton and Capt. Douglas [Dickinson?] joined us with about 60 men; and we pursued to Bennington and met Col. Allen, who was much pleased with the intended expedition, and we agreed he should get one hundred men. We sent forward to Crown Point and Ticonderoga, Capt. Noah Phelps and Mr. Hickok, to reconnoitre and see what discovery they could make,—who met us at Castleton; who informed us that the Regulars was not any ways apprized of our coming. To which, the army pursued on, and on the 10th day of May instant took Fort Ticonderoga, and also Major Skene, and have sent them with proper guards to Hartford. There is at the fort about 200 men,—in a fort of broken walls and gates, and but few cannon in order, and very much out of repair; and in a great quarrel with Col. Arnold, who shall command the Fort,—even that some of the soldiers threaten the life of Col. Arnold. Major Skene's estate we have put into the care of Capt. Noah Lee,* a man of good character and capable of taking care of the business well. The people on the grants are in much distress for want of provisions. The iron work must be carried on for the benefit of the people here; but it would not do by no means to have Mr. Brook† stay here, as he was looked upon to be a bigger enemy to his country than Major Skene, and 'tis an easy matter to send an Indian to Canada and inform them all our schemes and plans. One enemy in the city is worse than ten outside.

News I have by a credible man as any in these parts, (by name, Gershom Beach, of Rutland,) and who has been one of Major Skene's best friends, but loves himself and country better,—who told me he was at the Major's on Saturday, before the Major was taken, (who was taken

* The first settler of Castleton, and a leading man there.

† Mr. Brook was sent a prisoner to Hartford, with Major Skene and his family. (See Doc. VII.)

Tuesday;) that his father had sent him a letter, and shewed it to him, which informed the young Major that he had married to a lady of fortune of forty three thousand pound sterling, and that he had a commission in chief over Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point and Fort George;* also the Major asked Mr. Beach about rebuilding the forts; Mr. Beach told him he could not get men enough, as they would be at Boston: the Major replied, his father had a thousand men coming with him, and was to have been here by the first day of May instant. Now, Gentlemen, I must beg liberty to offer my humble opinion, which is, that not less than three thousand men be here immediately, and to push on to Saint John's and Canada, and secure them forts and, in doing that, secure the Canadians and Indians on our side, and secure the frontier from the rage of the savages; and for another small army to go to Detroit &c. Begging pardon for directing any in these affairs.

Now, Gentlemen, as we have done the business we was sent to do, must pray that you would send me special orders whether I shall provide any longer for the army; on the Colony of Connecticut's cost or not. As I was appointed by the Committee, of which I had the honour to be one, to be commissary for the army, I am determined to go to New City and Albany and secure some provision, and wait for further orders from the Assembly.

I dined with three Indians this day, who belonged to Stockbridge, sent by Mr. Edwards and a number of other gentlemen of that town to Canada, to see if they can find out the temper of the Canada Indians. I also saw a young gentleman from Albany that says they disapproved of our

* He sailed from London for Quebec, in May. Learning from a vessel, which was spoken on the Banks of Newfoundland, of the loss of Ticonderoga, the vessel's course was changed, and he landed in Philadelphia, June 7th. He was immediately placed in confinement, and on the 27th was, by order of Congress, sent under guard to Connecticut, to be confined on parole, under the supervision of Gov. Trumbull.—(*Letter of M. S. Mumford to Jona. Trumbull, Jr.; Journals of Congress, June 8th and 27th.*)

proceeding in taking the fort, in that we did not acquaint them of it before that it was done. Perhaps it would be well if some gentlemen should wait on the Congress at New York, so as to keep peace with them. N. B.—We did inform the Gentlemen Committee of Albany of our proceedings, which you will see by a letter in the hands of Capt. Mott.

Gentlemen, I am with esteem your very humble servant
at command,

ELISHA PHELPS.

[Endorsed:] Received, Saturday, 20th May '75, about 12 o'clock.

IV.

ETHAN ALLEN TO THE MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS.

[Force's Amer. Archives, 4th series, II., 556.]

TICONDEROGA, May 11, 1775.

Gentlemen: I have to inform you with pleasure unfelt before, that on break of day of the tenth of May, 1775, by the order of the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut, took the Fortress of Ticonderoga by storm. The soldiery was composed of about one hundred Green Mountain Boys, and near fifty veteran soldiers from the Province of the Massachusetts Bay. The latter was under the command of Colonel James Easton, who behaved with great zeal and fortitude, not only in council, but in the assault. The soldiery behaved with such resistless fury, that they so terrified the King's Troops that they durst not fire on their assailants, and our soldiery was agreeably disappointed. The soldiery behaved with uncommon rancour when they leaped into the Fort; and it must be confessed that the Colonel has greatly contributed to the taking of that Fortress, as well as John Brown Esq., Attorney at Law, who was also an able counsellor, and was personally in the attack. I expect the Colonies will maintain this Fort. As to the cannon and warlike stores, I hope they may serve

the cause of liberty instead of tyranny, and I humbly implore your assistance in immediately assisting the Government of Connecticut in establishing a garrison in the reduced premises. Colonel Easton will inform you at large.

From, gentlemen, your most obedient humble servant,

ETHAN ALLEN.

To the Honourable Congress of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, or Council of War.

V.

COL. ETHAN ALLEN TO GOV. TRUMBULL.

[From the original; communicated by Learned Hebard, Esq., of Lebanon.]

TICONDEROGA, 12th May, 1775.

Hon'ble Sir. I make you a present of a Major, a Captain and two Lieutenants in the regular Establishment of George the Third. I hope they may serve as ransoms for some of our friends at Boston, and particularly for Capt. Brown* of Rhode Island. A party of men under the command of Capt. Herrick† has took possession [of] Skenesborough, imprisoned Major Skene, and seized a Schooner of his.‡ I expect in ten days' time to have it rigged, manned, and armed with 6 or 8 pieces of cannon, which, with the boats in our possession, I purpose to make an attack on the armed Sloop of George the Third which is now cruising on Lake Champlain, and is about twice as big as the Schooner. I hope in a short time to be authorized to

* Mr. John Brown, one of the principal merchants of Providence, being at Newport, April 26th, as an agent of the Colony, to purchase provisions for the use of the army, was made prisoner, and confined on board a man-of-war lying in the harbor; and about three hundred barrels of flour, which he had put on board a packet-boat for Providence, were seized, and sent to Boston for condemnation.—(Stephen Hopkins's letter to the Mass. Congress, in *Amer. Archives*, 4th ser., II., 422.)

† With this party were Messrs. Blagden, Bigelow, and Nichols.—(Gordon's *Amer. Revolution*, II., 13.)

‡ See, in *Concise*, May 29, "Extract of a letter from Ticonderoga, dated May 25, with a concise journal of matters from the 11th to 25th."

acquaint your Honour that Lake Champlain and the fortifications thereon are subjected to the Colonies.

The enterprise has been approbated by the officers and soldiery of the Green Mountain Boys, nor do I hesitate as to the success. I expect lives must be lost in the attack as the commander of George's sloop is a man of courage &c.

I conclude Capt. Warner is by this time in possession of Crown Point, the ordnance, stores &c. I conclude Governor Carlton will exert himself to oppose us, and command the Lake &c.

Messrs. Hickok, Halsey and Nichols have the charge of conducting the officers to Hartford.* These gentlemen have been very assiduous and active in the late expedition.

I depend upon your Honour's aid and assistance in a situation so contiguous to Canada.

I subscribe myself your Honour's ever faithfull, most obedient and humble servant

ETHAN ALLEN

at present Commander of Ticonderoga.

[Superscribed:]

To The Hon'ble Jonathan Trumbull Esq.

Capt. General & Governor of the

Colony of Connecticut.

[Endorsed:] Received, Saturday, 20th, A. M. near 12 o'clock.

VI.

MASSACHUSETTS CONGRESS TO BENEDICT ARNOLD.

[Force's Am. Archives, 4th series, II., 676.]

WATERTOWN, May 22, 1775.

Sir: This Congress have this day received your letter of the eleventh instant, informing the Committee of Safety

* They arrived at Hartford, Thursday, May 18th. The other prisoners, forty-seven in number, came, under escort of Mr. Epaphras Bull, on Saturday, May 20th.—(*Conn. Courant*, May 22d.)

of the reduction of the fort at Ticonderoga, with its dependencies which was laid before this Congress by said Committee. We applaud the conduct of the Troops, and esteem it a very valuable acquisition.

We thank you for your exertions in the cause, and considering the situation of this Colony at this time, having a formidable Army in the heart of it, whose motions must be constantly attended to, and as the affairs of that expedition began in the Colony of Connecticut, and the cause being common to us all, we have already wrote to the General Assembly of that Colony to take the whole matter respecting the same under their care and direction, until the advice of the Continental Congress can be had in that behalf, a copy of which letter we now enclose you.

We are, &c.

VII.

PERMISSION GRANTED TO THE LADIES OF GOVERNOR
SKENE'S FAMILY TO RETURN TO SKENESBOROUGH, &c.

[Colony Records, XI., 477.]

GENERAL ASSEMBLY, May Session, 1775.

Upon the memorial of Andrew Philip Skene, of Skenesborough in the province of New York, preferred to this Assenbly, shewing that on the ninth of instant May, he, with his family consisting of an aunt, two sisters, and one Mr. Brooks, were taken at said Skenesborough and brought into this colony, where they now are; praying that his said aunt, sisters and said Brooks may have liberty to and be protected in their return to said Skenesborough or elsewhere; and that he the said Andrew P. Skene may have liberty to return to his farm and estate at said Skenesborough &c., or to appoint and send some suitable person to take care of his said farm and estate at Skenesborough; as per memorial on file:—

Resolved by this Assembly, That the Memorialist's said family, viz. his aunt and his two sisters, have liberty, and liberty is hereby granted to them to return to said Skenesborough, or to the province of Quebec or elsewhere, under the direction and protection of Oliver Wolcott Esq., Messrs. Elisha Sheldon of Salisbury, and John Bigelow of Hartford, a committee hereby appointed to direct and assist them in removing to Skenesborough or to the province of Quebec as aforesaid.* And said Major Andrew P. Skene hereby has liberty granted, with the approbation of the committee aforesaid, to appoint some suitable person to repair to and take care of his said farm and business at said Skenesborough, that it may not suffer by his absence; and the commander of the troops from this Colony at Ticonderoga and Crown Point is hereby directed to take care that said Major Skene's estate aforesaid suffer no unnecessary waste from the troops of this colony.

VIII.

COL. SAMUEL H. PARSONS TO JOSEPH TRUMBULL.

[From a copy communicated by Samuel H. Parsons, Esq., of Middletown.]

NEW LONDON, 2d June, 1775.

Dear Sir:

A small sketch of my history since I saw you at Oxford may give you some satisfaction, and open a little the state of mind some gentlemen have been in the whole of last moon.

When I left you I proceeded to Hartford, where I arrived Thursday forenoon.† You remember I remarked to you,

* Capt. John Bigelow, of Hartford, was appointed to escort them on their return. See, in the general account of disbursements, (Doc. XI.) an entry of payment "To John Bigelow to remove Misses Skene &c. to Canada, £150."

† April 27th.—The next day, Messrs. Phelps and Romans were dispatched from Hartford, and Capt. Mott and his party followed on the 29th.

I was concerned for the defenceless state (as I apprehended,) of our camp, and the want of heavy cannon, to effect any thing against the Town. On my way to Hartford, I fell in with Capt. Arnold, who gave me an account of the state of Ticonderoga, and that a great number of brass cannon were there. On my arrival at Hartford, Col. Sam. Wylls, Mr. Deane and myself first undertook and projected taking that fort &c., and with the assistance of three other persons* procured money, men &c., and sent out on this expedition without any consultation with Assembly[†] or others. This I mention only for this reason, that 'tis matter of diversion to me to see the various competitors for the honor of concerting and carrying this matter into execution, contending so strenuously about a matter in the execution of which all concerned justly deserve applause: but some can not bear an equal, and none a superior, and all make representations at the expense of truth, to monopolize what ought to be divided,—but more of this, another time. I waited at Hartford till Saturday,—got my beating orders, and went home. The next week my company was filled, and I had orders to march to Boston, and the week following began our march, when, to my surprise, the Sunday following, heard the Commissary had stopped the companies at Norwich. The same day, I sent to Hartford a memorandum respecting the state of the case. My messenger returned Thursday,—nothing done: the same day, I went up my-

* The names signed to the receipts (dated April 28th,) show these to have been Messrs. Christopher Leffingwell, Thomas Mumford, and Adam Babcock. Col. Parsons expressly states that no consultation was had "with Assembly or others" than those named. It has been repeatedly stated that Messrs. John Hancock and Samuel Adams were in Hartford when the expedition was projected, and consulted with the Governor and Council respecting it. But those gentlemen did not leave Worcester (on their way to the Congress,) before the 27th, and could not have arrived at Hartford until after the advance party from Connecticut had set out for Ticonderoga.—(See John Hancock's letter to Mass. Committee of Safety, from Worcester, April 26th, in *Amer. Archives*, 4th series, II., 401.) John Adams wrote from *Hartford*, May 2d, to Hon. Jos. Palmer, President of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts: "Certain military movements of great importance, and with the utmost secrecy, have been set on foot in this colony of Connecticut, which I dare not explain, but refer you to Colonel Foster, Dan-
"elson and Olif." (*N.Y. Review & Athen. Mag.* N. 219. 220.)

† The Assembly met on Wednesday, the 26th, and adjourned on Saturday, May 6.

self, and could get no answer till Saturday noon, when my orders to march were countermanded, and my regiment ordered back to New London till further orders,—where I now am, as much chagrined as any person need be; but this is a pleasure to my good friends, who feel a hearty satisfaction in mortifying me. The renowned Col. W., *the ambassador*,* is the first on the list of my friends. He on Saturday mov'd that the further consideration of the destination of the troops might be further laid over (to bed, I suppose,) for consideration. This *great man* is the same unchanged person who, I believe, would even now gladly baffle all overtures for our salvation.

I am now destined to this state of imprisonment, from whence I shall never be delivered without your help and the assistance of Generals Spencer and Putnam. If proper representations of the necessity of more men at Boston was made to the Governor by my friends in Camp, I am certain he will order my regiment to Boston immediately after the Assembly rises,—which I suppose was last night, or will be this day.† I beg you would use your interest to deliver one from this evil state as soon as possible.

What's become of our friend Jemmy Lovell?‡ What

* Doctor Wm. S. Johnson, of Stratford, and Col. Erastus Wolcott, of East Windsor, were appointed by the Assembly, in April, to wait upon General Gage, with a letter from Governor Trumbull, and to confer with him respecting "the late unfortunate transactions." Both the provincial congress of Massachusetts and the committee of safety were greatly,—but as the result showed, needlessly,—alarmed by this measure, which they thought likely to "produce the most tremendous events with regard to America."—(*See Journal of Mass. Prov. Congress, May 2d, 1775.*)

† The General Assembly adjourned on the 31st of May. At the first meeting of the Governor and Council of Safety, Wednesday, June 7th, it was "Voted, That two companies of the Sixth Regiment, raised for the special defence of this Colony, and commanded by Col. Samuel H. Parsons, viz., that under the Colonel's own command, and the 5th company, whereof James Chapman is Captain, do immediately march to Boston or some place adjacent, and join the other forces of this colony under the command of Brig. Gen. Spencer."

‡ James Lovell, who graduated at Harvard College in 1756, was a class-

is the condition of the inhabitants in Boston? Are they suffered to come out? The circumstances of our army, and the intended operations of our forces, are questions I want to have answered. If I am to remain on the *dam banks*, I hope you will take the first opportunity to write me, and give as particular information as possible.

I am, Sir,

Your friend,

[Superscribed:]

S. PARSONS.

To Capt. Joseph Trumbull,
In Cambridge.

IX.

RECEIPTS FOR MONEY ADVANCED BY THE COLONY TREASURER.

[From the originals, in State Archives; "Revolutionary War," III., 20, 21.]

Received of the Colony Treasurer, One Hundred Pounds, to be applied to the Government's use, which we promise to account for to the satisfaction of the Colony.

April 28th, 1775.

CHRIST^R. LEFFINGWELL.

THOS. MUMFORD.

ADAM BABCOCK.

SAM. H. PARSONS.

SILAS DEANE.

[Endorsed:]

Received the contents, by order from Pay Table, to discount with myself the contents. Hartford, July 7th, 1777.

J. LAWRENCE, *Treasurer*.

mate of Trumbull and Parsons. A few weeks after the date of this letter, (June 29th,) he was imprisoned, by order of Gen. Howe, on the charge of "being a spy and giving intelligence to the rebels:" and, when the British evacuated Boston, he was sent, a prisoner, to Halifax. Released (by exchange for Major Skene,) in November, 1776, he returned to Boston, and was soon after elected a delegate to the Congress.—(See his letter to Gen. Washington, in *Spark's Writings of Washington*, Vol. III., Appendix XII.)

Received of John Lawrence Esq., Treasurer of the Colony of Connecticut, Two Hundred Pounds, lawful money, to be expended for the use of Government, and for which we promise to account to the satisfaction of the Colony.

April 28th, 1775.

THOS. MUMFORD.

SAM. H. PARSONS.

SILAS DEANE.

SAM'L WYLLYS.

[Endorsed:]

Received the contents, by order from Pay Table, to discount with myself the sum within mentioned, being Two Hundred Pounds, L. Money. Hartford, July 7th, 1777.

J. LAWRENCE, *Treasurer.*

[In addition to the above, there was an order on the Treasurer, (dated May 15th,) signed by Samuel Bishop, Jr., Wm. Williams, and Samuel H. Parsons, in favor of Capt. Noah Phelps, for £10, "to supply him on an express from the Colony,"—and a receipt, May 17th, for £500, "to be expended for the use of Government," signed by Joshua Porter, Thos. Mumford, Jesse Root, Ezekiel Williams, Samuel Wyllys, and Charles Webb.—(*Revolutionary War Papers*, III., 19, 22.)]

X.

PETITION OF COL. S. H. PARSONS, THAT THE RECEIPTS, GIVEN BY HIMSELF AND ASSOCIATES, MIGHT BE SURRENDERED.

[*"Revolutionary War,"* VII., 171.]

To the Hon. General Assembly now sitting:

The Memorial of Samuel H. Parsons humbly sheweth:—

That in April, 1775, the Memorialist, Mr. Silas Deane and Col. Samuel Wyllys, with others, were induced, from the particular situation of public affairs at that time, to undertake surprizing and seizing the enemy's post at Ticonderoga, and without the knowledge and approbation of the Assembly: and to prosecute the business, were necessitated to take out a quantity of money from the Treasury, for

which they gave their promissory receipt: that the whole moneys were delivered to the gentlemen sent on that service, and were actually expended therein: that said receipts still are holden against the promisers, notwithstanding the Public have taken the Post into their own hands and repaid the expense. Your Memorialist therefore prays your Honours to order said receipts to be given up, and that the sums thereof be allowed the Treasurer in settlement,—and he, as in duty bound, &c.

Dated in Hartford, the 30th of May, 1777.

SAMUEL H. PARSONS.

In the Lower House: The prayer of the above memorial is granted, and liberty of a bill &c. Attest,

BENJ. HUNTINGTON, *Clerk.*

Concurred in the Upper House.

Test, GEORGE WYLLYS, *Secretary.*

XI.

GENERAL ACCOUNT OF MONEYS EXPENDED BY CONNECTICUT, FOR TAKING POSSESSION OF TICONDEROGA, &c.

["Revolutionary War," III., 633.]

An Account of Moneys advanced out of the public treasury of the Colony of Connecticut towards the expence of taking possession of the Fortress of Ticonderoga and posts adjacent, and holding the same, previous to General Schuyler's taking the command, and of disposing of and supporting the prisoners brought from thence.

To Silas Deane Esq. and others, to furnish those that undertook the Ticonderoga enterprize, to secure that Fortress,.....	£380	0	0
To Col. James Easton, to transport powder from Hartford to Ticonderoga &c., per order of Assembly,.....	200	0	0

To Bernard Romans, his bill for monies disbursed,	£ 31 11 10
To Capt. Elisha Phelps, to ride from Ticonderoga to Congress at Watertown,	10 0 0
To Wm. Nichols, for monies disbursed,	25 1 10
To John Bigelow, to remove Misses Skene &c. to Canada, as one of the com'tee for that purpose, per act of Assembly, (account not yet settled,)	150 0 0
To Charles Webb Esq., his bill for moneys disbursed,	139 10 11
To Joshua Porter Esq., his bill for moneys do., ..	143 14 9
To Barnabas Dean, his bill for moneys do., ..	4 5 4½
To Epaphras Bull, his bill for moneys do., ..	58 5 7
To Jeremiah Halsey Esq., his bill for do.,	3 15 0
To Capt. Delaplace, for liquors supplied the Garrison,	18 11 9
To Josiah Stoddard, for monies disbursed, ..	7 10 3
To Ely Warner for care of and providing for the prisoners,	22 18 6
To Jennet Collier, towards her bill for providing for prisoners,	12 0 0
To William Bull, his bill for monies disbursed,	5 0 2½
To Elijah Babcock, his do. providing as commissary,	20 0 0
To Simeon Belding, his do. providing as commissary,	4 16 8
To Doctor Tidmarsh, administering to sick prisoners,	5 6 0
To Eliph. Buell, for necessaries for the prisoners,	6 18 8
To John H. Lord, for providing for the prisoners,	10 15 0
To E. Williams &c. committee, to improve in providing for the prisoners,	51 14 0

To Uriah Burkett, for digging grave &c. for a prisoner,*.....	£	6	6
To Stephen Turner, providing for and tending sick prisoner,.....		4	16 0
To Patrick Thomas, for boarding prisoners,..		1	5 0
To Doctor Daniel Butler, for doctoring do.,..		4	9 8
To Timothy Phelps, for a coffin,.....		12	0
To Nathaniel Stanley, for horse hire,.....		1	11 9
To Capt. O'Hara, for axes &c., at Fort George,		7	4 0
To Jennet Collier, for boarding prisoners,...		31	0 5
To Doctor E. Fish, for doctoring prisoners,..		1	12 0
To Chapman Judson, for carpenter's tools &c., at Tic.,.....		4	7 8
To Capt. John Bigelow, for moneys disbursed,		17	16 4½
To John H. Lord, supporting Ticonderoga prisoners,.....		17	9 0
To E. Williams Esq., com'tee to order prisoners,.....		65	0 0
To Doctor Cheeny, for medicines for the army,		10	0 0
To Nath'l Hibard, for supplying sick soldiers & prisoners,.....		26	19 6
To Asa Yale, dieting Chambly prisoners,...		0	19 3
To Samuel Knap, horse hire in Ticonderoga expedition,.....		4	5 0
	£1511	5	0½

N. B. The foregoing account is *exclusive of the Wages and Services of those that went*,—which are not yet adjusted.

Certified by	THOS. SEYMOUR	} Com'tee of Pay Table.
	EZ. WILLIAMS	
Nov. 18th, 1775.	O. ELLSWORTH	

*On Mr. Burkett's record of burials in Hartford, under date of June 17, 1775, is the entry, John McKnell, a soldier, aged 60, interred at expense of the Colony of Connecticut.

**Last Friday [June 16] died in this place, in the 60th year of his age, Mr. John Kennell, a native of himself, in Popham, in North-Britain, where, it is said, he had a considerable estate. He was a Soldier in His Majesty's 26th Regiment of Regular Troop, and one of the Party lately taken Prisoners at Crown Point. — Concord, June 19.*

E. GREEN,

OU inserted, a few Weeks since, a Paragraph from the New York Paper, mentioning the Arrest of Major French in that City, who made his Escape from Connecticut, "where (it is said in that Gazette) he had been used with great Severity." Major French while a Prisoner in Connecticut was stationed at Hartford, where he was used with the greatest Lenity; he had the most of the Liberty, and till he violated (like a Scoundrel) his Parole, he had good Accommodations, all the Variety the Country could afford, rode out at Pleasure, and every Man in Hartford (forsooth) had better Advantages of good living than he. But his peevish, churlish, bigotted and bloodthirsty Disposition forbade him to be happy. Acts of Kindness and Respect inspired him with grand Conceptions of Importance, and served only to encrease his Repugnance and implacable Hatred to the Rights of Mankind. His Agents, (as he viewed them as Arguments of his Weakness) were sure to be returned with fresh Insults and Instances of uncommon Insolence and Scurrility; which his Letters to the Committee of Inspection were stuffed. There was not humane Blood enough in Hartford to satiate the Vengeance of this dragon from Draco. After he was confined in the Sockets, (tho' in other Respects he might have been like a Lord) his Vengeance, like Nebuchadnezzar's Furnace, was heated seven Times, and it was wont to be heat. Indeed, if this French had been vested with Omnipotence, that the Transition of the Continent to a State of Annihilation, would have been more Instantaneous than a flash of Lightning. Some Parts of his Letters were so infinitely base and mean as lead me to conclude he was not endowed with a rational Soul. He possibly gave rise to the following Acrostic.

Up near the Pickets where this Babel was raised.
It would be somewhat difficult perhaps to convey to the Reader an idea more descriptive of his character than is contained in these Lines; which I will insert you'll oblige one of your constant readers.

AN ACROSTIC.

On a Monkey in a Cage, clothed in Regimentals.
Man differs more from Man, than Man from Beast.
A Monkey, Sir, in Cage, might pass for Popish Priest,
Dressed in Armour clad, and Soldier's Dress complete,
In England's King might, ignorant of the Cheat,
Redeem him from his Cage and rank him with the Great.

On an anomalous Head imbricated with false Honor.
Fixed in Opinion always in the wrong,
Encour and Spite reeking in doggerel Song;
Perverse as Canibal on humane Flesh to feed,
Note how his bloody Jaws do gnash to have us bleed;
Times black as Hell the Ingrate would applaud,
His Honor to maintain in spite of Man or God.

Major French. I am told, has a Brother in Ireland, from whom

JOHN'S JOURNAL.

1, of the 22d Regt., John Rotton, Lawrence McDermott, a volunteer, arrived on the ship Hope, intending to join Boston. They were brought before the Committee of Safety, August 12th, 1775, and ordered, to Gen. Washington, then at Cambridge, should be ordered to Hartford, or

2, Major French's unwillingness to comply with the Committee, under whose orders he was placed, was productive of discomfiture to the American Archives, 4th volume, may be found a number of letters to him.

3, Major French, made his escape from the gaol, but they were ordered to their old quarters, and another, again ordered to the same place.

4, was left behind by the Committee, 14 of which are filled with his own papers, particularly Mr. Payne and

5, for some days past, notwithstanding the river with horses

6, at here this day, I wrote the Attorney,

To Uriah Burkett, for digging a prisoner, *
To Stephen Turner, providing sick prisoner,
To Patrick Thomas, for boarding
To Doctor Daniel Butler, for doctoring
To Timothy Phelps, for a coffin
To Nathaniel Stanley, for horse hire
To Capt. O'Hara, for axes &c., at
To Jennet Collier, for boarding
To Doctor E. Fish, for doctoring
To Chapman Judson, for carpentering &c., at Tie.,
To Capt. John Bigelow, for money
To John H. Lord, supporting prisoners,
To E. Williams Esq., com'tee to oners,
To Doctor Cheeny, for medicines for
To Nath'l Hibard, for supplying soldiers & prisoners,
To Asa Yale, dieting Chambly prisoners,
To Samuel Knapp, horse hire in the expedition,

N. B. The foregoing account and Services of those that went, —
Certified by TH
Ez.
Nov. 18th, 1775. O.

* On Mr. Burkett's record of burials in 1775, is the entry, John McNeill, a soldier of the Colony of Connecticut.

Last Friday June 16th died in the 10th year of his age, Mr. John Wadsworth, an Englishman, in North-Britain, considerably elderly. He was a 26th Regiment of Regular Foot, lately taken Prisoner at Cor-

even straw, allowed them, till a little before Christmas. But during all the summer and the cold weather in the fall, &c. they were wholly destitute of these necessary articles.

At the time that these were taken on Long Island, a considerable part of them were sick of the dysentery, and with this distemper on them were crowded, first on board of the ships, afterwards into the garrets in New York, three, four or five hundred together, without any blankets, or any thing for even the sick to lie upon, but the bare floors or pavements. In this situation that contagious distemper soon communicated from the sick to the well, and who probably would have remained so, had they not been in this manner thrust in together without regard to sick, or well, or to the sultry, unwholesome season, it being then the heat of summer. Of this distemper numbers died daily, and many others by their confinement, and the sultry season, contracted fevers & died of them. — During their confinement with these and other diseases, they had no medicine, nothing comfortable for sick people, and were not so much as once visited by any physician by the month together.

Nor ought we to omit the insults which the Americans offered to our people, nor the artifices they used to induce them to enlist into their army and fight against their country. It seems that

swelled to more than five Dollars. Some other Charges, which could not possibly be picked to pay their Expense in pursuing him and have Guineas, which he dropped in getting over the Pounds, and kept a Watch, Seal &c. worth Twenty Pounds, and kept him, Value at least One Hundred the Committee of that Place have seized the Baggage in Connecticut, as mentioned in our last, In Consequence of Major French's Escape from N. E. W. - Y. O. R. K., January 2.

Heath, and ran off. Beat, while having broke loose from his Rider, kicked up his hind legs, and fell on his back. — Am I not a Man of Spirit? — He is said to have left a Challenge for one of the Committee of Suffolk. — No Man of Spirit would choose to be exchanged for a Monk. — Nonsense at Hartford, and it is well he found Means of Escape. — Bitterly cursed the Day of his Enslavement. — true, but the Regiment to which he belongs are this Dead, or he be Fowl? — He violently broke out of the of the Humble-Bees? — He is both winged and hairy applicable to this Hermaprodite: "What think ye?" — Be he a Man? — What the Illusion said of the Humble-Bees? — he had not spoke to his Brother and Benefactor for nearly family, and yet the Major is such an Ingrate and recedes Two Hundred a Year towards the Support of his

MAJOR FRENCH'S JOURNAL.

[MAJOR CHRISTOPHER FRENCH, of the 22d Regt., John Rotton, Ensign in the 47th Regt., and Terence McDermott, a volunteer, arrived at Gloucester, from Cork, in the ship Hope, intending to join the army under Gen. Gage, at Boston. They were brought before the Pennsylvania Committee of Safety, August 12th, 1775, and sent with two privates, on parole, to Gen. Washington, then at Cambridge, who requested they should be ordered to Hartford, or some other inland town.

During his residence in Hartford, Major French's unwillingness to conform to the requirements of the Committee, under whose care the prisoners of war were placed, was productive of discomfort to himself and to others. In Force's American Archives, 4th series, vol. iii., and subsequent volumes, may be found a number of letters, which passed relative to him.

On the 15th of November, 1776, Major French, made his escape with Ensign Moland and three others from the gaol, but they were soon after taken at Branford, and returned to their old quarters, from which Major French, Ensign Moland, and another, again escaped December 27th. [*Connecticut, Nov. 18, 25, & Dec. 30*]

This journal, marked Journal No. 2, was left behind by the Major at his flight. It comprises 72 pages, 14 of which are filled with verses, which it seems he amused himself by making upon his situation and on the Committee, particularly Mr. Payne and Mr. Root.]

Monday, January 1st 1776.

We have had a heavy thaw for some days past, notwithstanding which people are still passing the river with horses and sleds.

Tuesday, Jan'y 2d.

One of the courts having met here this day, I wrote the following note to the King's Attorney,

Major French presents his compliments to Mr. Seymour, requests he will not forget to take the necessary steps for the prosecuting of the gaoler for falsely imprisoning him and the other gentlemen as mentioned to him before.—He requests an answer to this note.

Hartford, 2d Jan'y, 1776.

Directed, to Thos. Seymour Esqr, his Majesty's Attorney, Hartford.

I could not get an answer to the above note for several days, tho' I sent Mr. McDermott frequently for it, but towards the end of their session he sent me the following note,

Col. Seymour's compliments to Major French, and in answer to his note says, that the matter referred to must be remedied by an action at common law to be brought to the County or Inferior Court, and can't come before the Superior Court in the first institution.

Sunday, 14th Jan'y.

Genl. Lee arrived at Hartford, he sent me a polite note inviting me to sup with him, which I did. Some altercation passed upon political subjects, in which, as I thought him too free, I answered with warmth and he genteelly apologized and, at my request, promised me a letter to Genl. Washington to give me leave to go home during my parole.

Monday, 15th Jan'y.

Thirty three shirt, (or rifle) men, with fifty others came to town who were, as I understood, his escort.—This day he gave me the letter he had promised me,* which was couched in genteel terms and very pressing that I should be permitted to go home.

Our weather still variable, having alternate frost, snow and rain.

Tuesday, 16th Jan'y.

An account came of the defeat of Genl. Montgomery at

* Genl. Lee's letter to Gen. Washington, in behalf of Major French, is in Am. Archives, 4th series, iv., 695.

† See *Commentary*, Nov. 27, 1775.

Quebec on the 31st Decr. between the hours of four and six in the morning, in which he was killed, and his second in command (Arnold) wounded, etc. etc. This day we all, vizt. Capt. McKay, Messrs. Rotton and McDermott and I, went, according to a prior agreement, to dine with Governor Skene, who is prisoner of war at West Division, five miles from us, in a sled. Capt. McKay drove us, and, as is customary, hallooed a good deal to the horses, which we did not conceive could give umbrage or have any bad consequences. In the evening, whilst we were playing at whist for our amusement, we were informed that upwards of twenty men were assembled at a house immediately opposite to us, who were determined to attack us, because (they said) we were come there to make merry and rejoice at their misfortune at Quebec. We retired to an upper room, in number five, (vizt. Govr. Skene, Capt. McKay and his servant, Ens'n Rotton and I, Mr. McDermott had returned to town upon some business or amusement of his own,) determined to defend ourselves to the last, and to die rather than be insulted. We sent a negro man to the house to find out what was doing, who soon returned and told us the Capt. of the militia (one Sedgwick) was endeavoring to persuade them to desist, and that he believed he would succeed. In a short time the woman of the house (who was greatly frightened) went over, and at her return told us they were dispersed. Thus ended this affair, happily without blood-shed, but it seems the infection had spread, for

Wednesday, the 17th Jan'y.

Four of the Committee came to us and told us that thirty or forty of the populace at Hartford had assembled with a resolution to come out and insult us, and had gone so far as to say that if they (the Committee) did not do their duty, they would. They proposed that we should return to Hartford to quiet the minds of the people, to which we readily consented, telling them we should be sorry to

"He came to Hartford from Philadelphia, July 19, 1775, - and with his son, who was here previously, went to Middletown and took a house 'near the water side.' The next week (July 26) 'he was removed, to a very commodious and pleasantly situated house in the West Society,' in Hartford. - Connecticut, July 24th 1775.

be the occasion of any commotion. Three people came on horseback to meet us, and turned back as if to escort us in triumph. Last night a paper was fixed up at the meeting house and another at the state house, the words of which were taken from the 58th chapter and fourth verse of Isaiah, vizt. "Behold ye fast for strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness, ye shall not fast as ye do this day to make your voice to be heard on high."—Note this was a fast day by order of the Provincial Assembly.—This was imputed to us, and they said Mr. McDermott, who, as has been observed, came in that night, was sent in to put the papers up. I should have observed that Capt. McKay's calling to the horses was interpreted into shouts of triumph for their defeat.

Monday, 22d Jan'ry.

As I had been informed the Inferior Court, (to which Mr. Seymour, the King's Attorney, referred me in his former note, for the prosecution of the gaoler,) was to sit to morrow, I writ him the following note.

Major French's compliments to Mr. Seymour, he understands the Inferior Court (before which Mr. Seymour informed him by note the gaoler should properly be called, for having of his own authority confined him and other gentlemen before mentioned to him,) is to sit to morrow, and therefore desires Mr. Seymour will acquaint him whether he intends to carry on the prosecution in his Majesty's name or not.

Monday 22d Jan'ry 1776.

Major French requests an answer in writing, the refusing of which he shall take as an absolute denial to do him justice.

Thos. Seymour, Esq.

His Majesty's Attorney at Law.
Hartford.

I sent it by my servant whom I desired to wait for the answer, and he returned with a verbal one that Mr. Seymour was very busy, but that he would send me an answer in the morning.

Tuesday, 23d Jan'y.

I sent my servant to Mr. Seymour for the answer to my yesterday's note, who, upon his return, told me he was gone to New York without leaving any, which was exactly what I expected.

Copy of a letter from Mr. Stephen Moylan P. T. S., on the subject of my having desired leave to go home.

CAMBRIDGE 10th Feb'y. 1776.

Sir: Your repeated letters to Genl. Gates desiring liberty to go to Ireland on your parole were laid before his Excellency. I have it in command from him to inform you that he does not think himself authorised to grant licence to any one to depart this continent,—that power is lodged only in the hands of the Congress. I am also commanded to tell you that the General is surprised a gentleman of Major French's good sense and knowledge should make such a request. Let him compare his situation with that of such gentlemen of ours who by the fortune of war have fallen into the hands of their enemy. What has been their treatment? thrown into a loathsome prison and afterwards sent in irons to England. I repeat,—let the Major compare his treatment with theirs and then say whether he has cause to repine at his fate.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

STEPHEN MOYLAN P. T. S.

To which I sent the following answer.

HARTFORD 26th Feb'y. 1776.

Sir: At the time I expected to have received an answer from Genl. Gates to my second letter on the subject of my going home, I received one from you, with whom I have not the pleasure of being in the least acquainted, telling me that my *repeated* letters to Genl. Gates, etc. were laid before your Commander in Chief, and that you had it in command to inform me that he does not think himself authorised to grant licence to any one to depart this continent, etc.—In a letter dated the 1st Feb'y (and yours is dated the 10th,) which I had from Genl. Gates, he says he has it in command from your Commander in Chief to acquaint me that he is ever ready and willing to grant every reasonable indulgence to any of the *gentlemen* officers which the chance of war has thrown into his hands, but *at present* he

has his orders to say it is improper he should comply with my request. It appears to me somewhat extraordinary (these two paragraphs considered in their order of priority,) that Genl. Washington should be surprised, in the latter, at my making a request, which, in the former, he says he may in future grant by the words above, *at present, etc.*, and I must acknowledge I cannot find any cause for surprise in the request, as it appears to me very natural to be desirous to settle our private affairs. I shall not comment upon the *style* of refusal, which however does not appear to me to be quite so natural, nor shall I *again* touch upon the treatment of prisoners, as I have already explained myself on that topic to Genl. Washington by letter. I should be highly sensible of the compliment paid to my good sense and knowledge did it not appear to me, at least, equivocal by their being arraigned in the same paragraph. It is true, indeed, in whatever sense it is intended, Genl. Lee, who is so generally allowed to possess both in so eminent a degree, must be a co-partner, as I sent a letter from him to Genl. Washington enforcing my request.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,
CHRIS. FRENCH. M. T. S. R.

Copy of a letter to Genl. Gates.

HARTFORD 29th Feb'y 1776.

Sir: While I was in expectation of your answer to my last letter relative to my going home, I received one from a Mr. Moylan, telling me Genl. Washington does not think himself authorised to grant me that permission. If I dont mistake Col. Fenton is gone home by his authority, or, at least, thro' his recommendation. Mr. Moylan was pleased to tutor me with a parallel upon the different treatment of prisoners which appears to me to have been lugged in (like the tailor in Lethe) by head and shoulders, as it was entirely foreign to the subject, since I did not complain of bad treatment in any of my letters wherein I asked to go home, but desired it in order to settle some family affairs, and Genl. Lee thought my request so reasonable that he gave me the letter which I sent you enclosed enforcing it; and I own that as the tenor of your last letter gave me hopes it would be granted, it therefore appears the more extraordinary to me that, in the very next letter, it should be so point blank refused.

When expectation is raised, disappointment falls the

heavier. I will not say it was so *designed* to me, but certainly it has so been: but I have been inured to it, and therefore can bear it with the greater fortitude.

I am still without any answer to my last letter to you, tho' I requested an early one. I must acquaint you with a jealousy of mine, and thus I argue, Why does Mr. Moylan, whom I dont know, write to me upon a topic which I writ to Genl. Gates about? and why, at least, does he not assign a reason for Genl. Gates not writing or signing the letter? Answer, because Genl. Gates declines the correspondence. Am I right? If I am, it would have been at most but polite to have told me so (and I make no doubt but some method will be adopted for our conveying our letters home and receiving those which come from thence, a circumstance never refused to prisoners of war, and that we shall be informed through what channel we are to do it,) if not I have to apologize, by anticipation, for my error, and in that supposition I send you enclosed a letter to my Rib which I beg you will forward.

I am, Sir, Your most obt. hble. st.

CHRIS. FRENCH.

Friday, 1st March.

Went to Weathersfield, where I saw a house 40 feet long, 20 broad and 20 high to the eaves, drawn upon 8 pair of cart wheels by oxen about a quarter of a mile.

Wednesday, 6th March.

Blew excessively hard, insomuch that our house shook very much; a barn was blown down, and the ice on the river broken up.

9th March.

Mr. Stanhope, a midshipman of his Majesty's navy, was arrested by the high sheriff and tried before the Kings Attorney for having assaulted a young woman in the streets, when he was fined eighteen shillings, and to pay costs of court amounting to eighteen shillings more, and to find bail for his good behavior in £20, or to go to gaol, which last he must have done had not two of the towns people gone sureties for him, notwithstanding they were threatened to be considered as Tories, and yet not one evidence

could prove any thing against him; the first, Mr. Caldwell, (one of his sureties,) saying he knew nothing more than what the young woman told him; the second, (a child of about 12 or 13,) saying she could not tell whether the defendant or another person had assaulted the prosecutrix; the third, also a very young girl, acknowledged she knew nothing about the affair but by hearsay,—and the fourth said the same; and when Mr. Seymour was desired repeatedly by me to observe this, he took no manner of notice of it, but went on with pronouncing the sentence as already mentioned, from which we knew it was needless to appeal.

Wednesday, 20th March.

Heard that Genl. Howe, with his Majesty's forces, had evacuated Boston on the 17th and embarked and fallen down to Nantasket and King's Road. This day a number of riflemen arrived from Cambridge, two of their officers supped with us, viz. Capt. Ross and Lt. Hamilton, between the last of whom and our landlord (Pearce who wanted to stop us from singing, and force us away,) there happened a dispute and some blows, which had like to have had bad consequences, as some of the towns people came to the landlord's assistance and Capt. Ross went for some of his men, and had they met it might have engaged both parties in a quarrel which would probably have proved fatal to the towns people, but we had luckily got these last away before the riflemen came, notwithstanding which, the towns people endeavored to exasperate the riflemen against us, by saying we had struck their officers. This we easily cleared up next morning by speaking to Col. Hand, and the concurrent testimony of his own officers.

Thursday, 21st March.

More riflemen arrived to the amount (with those of yesterday,) of about 500 men, and in the evening most of them marched to Weathersfield, 4 miles. Col. Hand (who had been lately an ensign in the Royal Irish,) took a request from us to the Congress to be removed to some other

place. From him I learned that the American field officers wear red cockades, their captains white, and subalterns green.

Friday, 22d March.

More riflemen arrived, one of whom I was informed wanted much to shoot me.

Saturday, 30th March.

Capt. Williams of the Royal Artillery and I went to Middletown for a jaunt, and went to church on Sunday.

Monday, 1st April.

Dined with General Putnam at Mr. Webbs of Weathersfield. He is about five feet six inches high, well set, and about sixty three years old, and seems a good natured, merry man.

Capt. Delaplace of the 26th Regt. having informed me that the men of that Regt. had frequently applied to him for clothing and necessaries, I drew up a paper addressed to the Congress, and a letter to Major Preston commanding said Regiment, both on that subject, and, having heard that Genl. Washington was to come our way, I drew up the following paper for him, vizt.

Major French of his Majesty's twenty second Regt. begs to inform his Excellency Genl. Washington that Capt. Delaplace of his Majesty's 26th Regt. has acquainted him, as the senior officer of his Majesty's forces here, that many of the men of said Regt. have applied to him for their clothing and to be supplied with the other necessaries requisite to their health and cleanly appearance, such as shirts, shoes, stockings, etc.

That he, in consequence of it did apply to the Committee of Hartford for leave to send Ens. Moland to Major Preston for their clothing and to settle a mode of supplying him with money to procure them the other conveniences mentioned; which was not agreed to.

That he wrote to Govr. Trumbull to permit a sergeant to go for that purpose, but (though a long time has elapsed,) he has not yet had any answer.

That he has wrote to Major Preston with no better success, occasioned (as he supposes) by his letter not having reached him.

That the men are scattered so much in different parts of the country that he cannot see their wants, which may induce them to desert, nor regulate their conduct, so essential to their own happiness and the peace of the inhabitants.

Sergt. Goold of the 7th Regt. having also applied to me, I added what follows in behalf of that Regt.

That Sergeant Goold of the Royal Fusileers, quartered at Litchfield, has also informed him that the men of said Regt., prisoners there, are in great want of small necessities, and that he has no officer with him, nor any money to supply them, and that they are, consequently, obliged to work, by which means they wear out one part of their clothing in endeavoring to procure another.

Major French requests his Excy. will take these matters into his consideration and give such directions about them as to him shall appear proper.

Hartford, 8th April 1776.

Genl. Washington having taken another route, I had not an opportunity of giving him the paper myself, but sent it to New Haven, (where I was informed he was to be on the 9th,) by post.

Sunday, 28th April.

I killed a small garter snake, and observing it to be very much swelled about the middle, I cut it open and took out a frog much larger in circumference than the snake itself.

Tuesday, 30th April.

As I was walking I smelled a skunk, and hearing the voices of people, and a dog barking at the same time, I ran to the place and saw two negroes with long poles and the dog, all keeping at a respectable distance for fear of his throwing his urine from his tail, the effect of which is so strong upon clothes that you must bury them to remove the smell, which is vastly strong (of garlick) and offensive. The negroes called to me to keep at a distance, which I took care to do, and the poor dog, who frequently ran to catch him, would run off in the utmost haste, (when the skunk shook his tail at him, upon which the urine was,) and rub and roll himself along the grass. The negroes at

last bruised him so much with their poles that the dog at last ventured to seize and kill him, but not without frequently running away.

This evening Messrs. Gregory and Stanhope, officers in the navy, who had endeavored to make their escape in consequence of the bad treatment they had met with from the Committee of Northampton, 45 miles from this place, were brought here, and three of the Committee, vizt. Mr. Root, chairman, Mr. Payne, and Mr. (Capt.) Wadsworth, met, and (after treating them with much indignity,) the chairman made out a mittimus for their being lodged in gaol and then went away, notwithstanding they acquainted them with the bad treatment they had met, and that their lives being in danger was the cause of their attempt, and that we offered ourselves to go to gaol should they attempt to go off that night. We however persuaded one of their guards (Mr. Sterns,) to let them stay and sup with us, the other guard (Doct. Shepherd,) made many difficulties. These gentlemen would have escaped only they were betrayed by one Turner at Middletown. Messrs. Lyman and Dwight were taken up on suspicion of assisting them, but released upon examination, but a part owner of the sloop (one Whitmore,) was sent to our gaol.*

Monday, 6th May.

A party of horse, ill mounted and as badly appointed, came to town, and having joined another party in this town, they attempted some movements to the great amusement of some of the spectators. The officers were dressed in blue, the privates in scarlet and silver.

I went this day with Gov. Skene to see Glastenbury, about seven miles on the east side of the river: on our return we met about 80 of their militia, (armed as such,) one of which fired his piece, with some difficulty and much distortion of face, which made our horses bounce, but did not throw us, as they no doubt expected, as they knew us very

* See a notice of their escape;—description of prisons;—and account of their recapture,—in *Concise*, April 29 and May 6. They had concealed themselves in a cave near the river, at Middletown, where they were supplied with food by [Gardner] Watson. "See one, which of the three is the greatest criminal?" asked Watson. — Watson broke jail and escaped, with French and Meland, Dec. 27, 1776.

well, but was a great matter of laughter to these motley gentlemen.

Thursday, 9th May.

The election of a governor etc. came on, when the old one (Trumbull,) was re-elected: he marched in great state, escorted by his guards in scarlet turned up with black, to the State House and from thence to the meeting house. The next day the negroes, according to annual custom, elected a governor for themselves, when John Anderson, Governor Skene's black man, was chosen; at night he gave a supper and ball to a number of his electors, who were very merry and danced till about three o'clock in the morning.*

* The appointment of Gov. Skene's negro was the occasion of some uneasiness in the public mind, lest there might be some plot on the part of the British officers, prisoners here. The following report to the Governor and Council relating to this affair is from the State Archives, *Revolutionary War*, V. Doc., 391.

To the Honorable the Governor and the Council of the Colony of Connecticut convened at Hartford,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONORS,

Pursuant to your Honors' orders and directions given us, two of the Committee, taking with them a constable, went immediately to Gov. Skene's lodgings, found the door of his room locked and said Skene not at home, and leaving one of said Committee to guard the room the others proceeded after Gov. Skene and found him returning home from this side of the river, and brought him before the Committee.

He was asked if he had carried on any correspondence with those who were enemies to America,—he answered that the engagements he had laid himself under by his parole he had sacredly kept, that he had no papers but what concerned his private affairs, which had passed the inspection of the Congress, that he had the keys in his pockets and was willing to show us his papers,—that if he had any obnoxious papers we might depend on it we should not find them, and if we accused him, he was an Englishman, we must prove it.

He was asked if he knew beforehand any thing of his negro's being about to be chosen governor by the negroes, and whether he had directly or indirectly any hand in bringing it to pass,—he answered that he did not know any thing of it except some words that passed between Mrs. William and his negro a day or two before, which he took to be jocose,—and that he had no hand in bringing it to pass directly nor indirectly.

He was asked if he did not give his negro money to make a treat etc. for

Among the gentlemen who came to Hartford at this time was Montfort Browne Esqr., Governor of the Island of

the negroes.—he answered that he gave his negro a half joe to keep election with, and that he was not at Mr. Knoxe's on Friday evening after the election when they had their treat and that he knew nothing about it,—that on Friday he heard that the negroes had chosen his negro their governor,—he feared it would excite jealousies and avoided speaking to him for fear of suspicion, and declared upon his honor that he had no papers about him.

Then the negro was examined, who told us that one Sharper, a negro fellow, first mentioned to him about his being governor,—that he did say that if the negroes would choose him governor he would give a treat of twenty dollars, and that it had cost him five and twenty dollars. He declared that none of the regular officers or soldiers ever said any thing to him about it,—that there was no plot or scheme,—that what he said and did was of his own head, merely as a piece of diversion and that he meant no harm to the country,—that he never had seen an election,—understood they chose a governor every year, so he thought he would set up for it.

He was asked where he got the 25 dollars,—he said he had them of his own, got by going in a vessel upon the lakes, where he had certain perquisites which brought him in a great many dollars, which he was allowed to keep. He said he had a paper which their former Governor Cuff gave him appointing him governor, which was at home in his coat pocket, and was willing to show it.

One of the Committee kept Gov. Skene's room all night: next morning Col. Wadsworth and Capt. Wadsworth went over with him, unlocked his door and found his trunk of papers gone, of which said Skene seemed to be ignorant, upon which they searched the other rooms and the garret and did not find it; presently Williams searched in a hole in the garret behind the chimney and there found the trunk, brought and gave it to Gov. Skene who made strange of it and said he supposed that the negro upon the alarm they had the other day that his papers were about to be searched had hid the trunk.—The Committee searched the papers which Gov. Skene very frankly offered and no letters were found except one found among his clothes from Hugh Wallace of New York, dated 2d August 1775, also one found lying on the table from said Wallace, dated 21st December 1775, superscribed to Mr. Joseph Webb, Weathersfield, which we herewith lay before your Honors, with the paper appointing his negro governor which was wrote by Nearn, a regular sergeant that keeps at Mr. Lords.—We examined Skene's negro further how many trunks his master had that he kept papers in,—he said one;—asked him of what color it was etc., which he described rightly;—we asked him how he came to hide it, he constantly denied that he ever did;—we asked him how his master came by the paper Cuff gave him, he declared he left it in his pocket and knew not how he came by it.—We examined Nearn, the sergeant, who declared that he wrote it at Cuff's desire, had no design but thought of it as a piece of fun.—

Providence, (one of the Bahama Islands,) who had been seized and brought from his government by Ezek. Hopkins,

We examined Cuff, who gave the same account with Nearn; we asked Cuff who advised him to resign his governorship to Skene's negro, he said a good many people—some of our own and some of the regulars, but remembered none in particular by name.

We had sundry of our own negroes under examination. It appeared that there was no election of Skene's negro but by Cuff's appointment aforesaid, and that they spoke against it and declared they would not have a tory for a governor:—it appears that the negroes had an entertainment and a dance at Mr. Knoxe's on Friday night after the election, and the reckoning was about fifty shillings which our negroes were not allowed to pay any part of.

Major French told us that the day before election he dined with Governor Skene, when it was mentioned that Jack was to be chosen governor. Gov. Skene told him he would give him a half joe, and Major French told him he would give him two dollars, and McDermott told us that he gave him two dollars to make a treat with, and that when the reckoning was called for they, viz. Major French and McDermott, interposed and would not suffer our negroes to pay any thing and told Jack to pay it, and accordingly the reckoning was paid and our negroes excused from paying any thing.

All which is humbly submitted to your Honors, by your Honors' most obedient humble servants the Committee.

May 22nd A. D. 1776.

Pr order JESSE ROOT, Chairman.

John Anderson's appointment as governor over the negroes, Rev. War, V., 392.

HARTFORD, 11th May, 1776.

I Governor Cuff of the Niegors in the province of Connecticut do Resine my Governmentshipe to John Anderson Niegor Man to Governor Skene.

And I hop that you will obeye him as you have Done me for this ten years past, when Colonel Willis niegor Dayed I was the next But being weak and unfit for that office Do Resine the Said Governorshipe to John Anderson.

I John Anderson having the Honour to be apointed Governor over you I will Do my utmost indevore to serve you in Every Respect and I hop you will obey me accordingly,

JOHN ANDERSON Governor
over the Niegors in Connecticut.

Witnesses present

The late Governor Cuff

Hartford

Quackow

Petter Wardsworth

Titows

Pomp Willis

John Jones

Fraday.

called Admiral of the American Fleet. One Mr. Sistare, born at Barcelona, also came here, with whom I had several conversations in *lingua franca*.

Copy of a letter to Genl. Prescott.

Sir: Sergeant Goold of the Royal Fusileers has informed me that he and the other soldiers of that Regimt., prisoners in this Province, suffer much for want of money to supply them with small necessaries. I applied to the Commander in Chief of the provincial forces, by letter, to give directions for their being supplied, but as he has not deigned to answer me, I think it my duty as senior officer, prisoner here, to acquaint you with their situation, in order that I may have your directions about them; in the mean time I have taken such steps as that I think I can procure money for that purpose as soon as I am authorized by you to do so.—Give me leave to condole with you upon your situation, and to assure you that I am, Sir, etc. etc.

13th May, 1776.

C. F.

Copy of a letter to Genl. Lee.

HARTFORD, 13th May, 1776.

Sir: You no doubt remember that when you passed thro' this place in Jan. last, you made a bet of ten guineas with me that Quebec would be taken by the Provincials in the course of the current winter. That event has not happened, (nor is there now the least prospect that it ever will, as there are accounts, not only of its having been re-inforced by a part of his Majesty's fleet and a large body of his troops, but that his Excellency Genl. Carlton has drove them entirely from before it,) and indeed your own papers, unaccustomed as they are to communicate to the public anything which argues against their successes, have lately inserted some very desponding letters from that quarter; they also regret that you was not sent to command them, and though, as you are become our enemy, I cannot be so gross as to wish you had with success, yet I am not so much yours as to envy you the honor you might have acquired by a well concerted retreat which, though you might not have effected, yet I know you would have attempted, a circumstance which, from your being at the head of such raw and undisciplined forces, could only have added to the brilliancy of your measures. You will please

direct Mr. Lawrence, Treasurer here, to pay me, which will much oblige, Sir,

Your most, etc.

C. F.

Saturday, 18th May.

I was informed that one Peter Campbell, a soldier of the 26th Regiment, was privately examined by the Committee if he had heard Capt. McKay or me speak disrespectfully of the Committee or of the Continental Congress. This day we had an account that the Provincials had been defeated before Quebec on the 6th Inst. and all their cannon etc. taken, the circumstances of which they artfully threw a veil over, as they knew it would dispirit their people. Capt McKay went off. †

Sunday, 19th May.

Several parties went in pursuit of Capt. McKay by different routes.

Monday, 20th May.

The meeting and school house bells were rung before five o'clock this morning by one W-ts-n, a p-t-r,* and one Tucker, in order to raise a mob to send us all to gaol; they assembled accordingly, and forming a committee of their own sent them to the town committee then sitting, for that purpose, but were pacified by these last.

Tuesday, 21st May.

Having some business with the Committee about Capt. McDonald of my company, I told them that had they asked me instead of the soldier of the 26th Regt. whether I had spoken disrespectfully of them or the Congress, I should candidly have informed them that in a conversation with Mr. Lee, one of their generals, on Sunday the 14th January, he had (after several gross speeches which I had retorted, at the same time telling him I wished to avoid politics, but that if he once opened my mouth he would not easily shut it again,) said that the Parliament of Eng-

* Ebenezer Watson, printer of the Connecticut Courant.

† His servant, M^r Parland, escaped with them. See in the *Courant*, May 20, an account of their escape and description of their persons; and of their escape, at Lancaster, Mass., May 20th;—in same paper, May 27.

land was composed of a set of rascals, and that I had replied I was of opinion that there was not an individual in the Parliament who was so great a rascal as the Continental Congress was collectively and individually, and this, I told them, I would not scruple to say, in similar circumstances to *their General* Washington, at the head of his army, or to the Continental Congress in full assembly.—At which the chairman seeming much surprised, and expressing much doubt that I would do so, I assured him, with an oath, that had I a rope round my neck to be pulled upon my saying it, I would do so though perdition was within a yard of me.

As I found this Committee had an intention of sending such soldiers to gaol as should refuse to work, under a pretence of keeping them from drink and consequently from riotous behavior, (of which however I had never heard any complaints,) but, in fact to supply the places of such men as they had sent or were about to send to fight against us, I objected to it in general, and particularly against their being employed in building powder mills, making powder, salt-petre, arms of any sort, casting of cannon or shot, or being sent to cultivate the lands, and informed them I should acquaint the soldiers that I should consider such of them as assisted in these works as enemies to his Majesty, and consequently disqualified from being admitted to the benefit of Chelsea.—They intimated that the tenor of my parole forbid my acting in this manner, and that if I did attempt it they must take an effectual method to prevent me; to which I replied that my parole did not forbid my paying a proper attention to the support of his Majesty's honor, attempted to be violated thro' the soldiers, and that if I thought it did, I would return it them or burn it, and would not be bound by any such parole, and that as to their threat, I was determined to do my duty as a British officer, let the consequence be what it would. After much debate, I obtained a promise of a copy of their re-

solve upon this head, to which (if they persisted in their present determination) I assured them I should enter a protest.

Wednesday, 22d May.

Capt. McKay and his servant, one McFarlan of the Royal Artillery, were brought back in company with one Graves of Pittsfield in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, about 70 miles distant, whom they alledged was his guide, having been taken at Lanesborough, four or five miles beyond Pittsfield by some country fellows who suspected them, and who, after having tied him, knocked him down, and beat and abused him in the grossest manner. In the evening they were all sent to the common gaol indiscriminately.

Mr. McDermott, who went to the inn where the Committee was examining Capt. McKay, was grossly insulted by one William Bull, an inhabitant of this place, who also said we, the prisoners, were a set of rascals who should be kept in irons, and that he would beat any of us he should meet, Capt. Delaplace of the 26th Regt. and Lieut. Hill of the 5th Regt. excepted; the first I suppose he had a good opinion of because he submitted implicitly to the determinations of the Committee, and the latter, being a very stout, strong man, I believe he was afraid of.

In consequence of the behavior of the mob on the 20th, and the inflamed appearance we observed among them when Capt. McKay was brought back, we all signed a paper, and I gave it to the Governor, requesting protection from the fury of the populace.

Thursday, 23d May.

Governor Skene was taken to gaol this afternoon by order of Gov. Trumbull, for refusing to sign a parole which was dictated to him, although he offered by letter to give the same parole he had given from the first of their demanding one, and to give this in writing, whereas he had heretofore only given it verbatim,—and our good friend the

printer said we ought all to be sent to gaol if we attempted to go near the prisoners.

Friday, 24th May.

Asked leave of the Committee to visit the prisoners, and was refused, soon after which an order was given by the Committee not to suffer any of us to go near them. Capt. McKay (who as I observed had been much bruised,) desired to be bled, and applied thro' Ens. Rotton for a French surgeon in town to do it, which was refused by the sheriff, who said he would send one of their own to bleed him; this being declined by Capt. McKay lest, through malice, he might poison his lancet, the sheriff said he might then trust to God who made him. Upon my hearing this I applied to and got leave from their Governor to go in to bleed him, which I did, (but in presence of one of the Committee, to the great mortification of the sheriff.

Saturday, 25th May.

I went to see Capt. McKay and was refused admittance, but on my telling the gaoler I wanted to visit him as his doctor, I was permitted (in his presence) to see him, when I felt his pulse and enquired very physically into the state of his health.

Saturday, 8th June.

One Thompson (a Provincial Brigadier Genl.) with two thousand men, was defeated in Canada, and he taken prisoner.

Saturday, 22d June.

Mr. Cuyler, Mayor of Albany, Mr. Monier, Post Master, Mr. Duncan, formerly Lt. and Adjutant of the 44th Regt., Lt. McDonnell of the Royal Americans, Mr. Delancy, Clerk of the County, and Mr. Hilton, an attorney, were brought here prisoners, as being suspected to be tories. These gentlemen signed a parole which we thought very inconsistent with their honor, and injurious to ours, vizt. that they would not hold any correspondence with us.

The people still threatening to insult us daily, and even

threatened some of our lives, and I was told a party waited at a place called Rocky Hill to attack me on my return from Middletown where I had been to church, but by my not returning till late in the evening I escaped.

Monday, 1st July.

The Committee passed a resolve that we, the prisoners, should not be out after dark on pain of imprisonment, and having appointed a guard unknown to us, some of whom kept near our mess house, we were obliged to send to the chairman to let such as were quartered elsewhere go home in safety, (for one of them fired a brace of balls at a man for not stopping when called to,) which was granted.

Tuesday, 2d July.

Some of us went to the Committee to represent to them that their resolve prevented our meeting to supper at the reasonable hour of nine o'clock, and to request that they would name ten or eleven o'clock for our parting, and that they might imprison any one of us who should be found in the streets after that time, or if he should be found, even then, any where in the streets but between our mess house and home, but we were told we must conform to their customs and abide by their resolve.

Thursday, 4th July.

Capt. McKay complained of being sick and desired I would apply to the Committee that the French surgeon should be sent him, which was refused tho' I proposed their sending some of their own Committee with him, and represented the inhumanity of refusing the surgeon he placed confidence in, nor would they permit Doct. Thompson* (probably the best in this town,) to see him, because he was (by them) deemed a tory.

I was again threatened with imprisonment unless I would consent to shorten my bounds by a new parole, which I absolutely refused, and my imprisonment was put off till an evidence should be heard relative to the Governor's resolve respecting our distance.

*Dr. James Thompson, educated at Edinburgh, who had practised in Maryland and the M. Indies, came to Hartford in the winter of 1775-6. See his (first) advertisement, in *Connecticut*, Feb. 26, 1776.

The Committee having passed the resolve already mentioned, relative to the soldiers' working, told me of it, and after much debate it was agreed on their part that they should not work at any thing injurious to his Majesty's interest, and on mine, that I would not object to their working at their respective trades, but that no man, not being a farmer, should be employed in that business.

Lt. McDonnell of the Royal Americans desired to recall his parole and to sign one similar to ours, which was granted.

Gov. Franklin of New Jersey was escorted as a prisoner to Lebanon, (Gov. Trumbull's,) by a guard of provincial horse.

Saturday, 6th July.

Gov. Franklin returned and dined with us, he had given a parole to remain at Wallingford and within six miles round it.

Mr. Herring was re-committed to gaol without having been censured for any misbehavior, but (they said) because he had been let out for the recovery of his health, and which was now restored.—I should have observed that Genl. Howe arrived at Sandy Hook on the 28th June, with a large fleet, said to be 146 sail.

Monday, 8th July.

The Committee published their resolve of the 6th inst. by which the prisoners were exempted from working at fire-arms etc., notwithstanding they threatened me so much if I interfered in it.

Thursday, 11th July.

I saw a proclamation of the 4th inst. by which the Continental Congress declared the Colonies Free States, and independent of Great Britain. Sentries were now kept constantly near our quarters at night, and this because (as I was told) they apprehended we received and sent intelligence; I was also informed that the chairman of the Committee said he wished I was with my regiment, as he was convinced I did their cause more mischief at Hartford than

15

** Comment, July 8. In that paper, July 15, French publishes notice that his former orders to prisoners not to work at public works &c. are revoked, — or rather, are not to be construed to prevent their working at their several trades &c.*

I could if with our army, a plain instance that jealousy and suspicion wrought strongly on their minds, since they had not the least true foundation for such an idea, and prior to this a deputation of three (Col. Humphreys, Mr. Epaphras Bull, brazier, and Mr. Nichols, an attorney,) had come from the Committee to search our quarters for fire-arms and ammunition, apprehending, as 'twas said, that I intended to head a party of *Tories* and cut all their throats. "The wicked man shall tremble at his own shadow, and shall be afraid where there is none to hurt him."

Saturday, 18th July.

A drunken fellow, (one Mahar, a cooper, and who had been a sailor on board his Majesty's fleet,) gave out that he knew of a plot for blowing up some barrels of gunpowder which were kept in a store near where I lived, and upon being examined by the Committee, he accused a man (one Sherry) of the Royal Artillery, and said that I and my gang (I suppose the officers prisoners here,) were concerned; however, the Committee gave no attention to him,—'tis to be observed that I had scolded him this morning for being insolent. Finding he was not minded he swore he would go and complain to Genl. Washington, but that he would first murder some of us, but particularly me.—I told this to Mr. Root, the chairman, who would not bind him over to the peace, nor even send for him, but said he would talk to him when he should see him.

On Sunday the 7th inst. Mr. McNeal, Mr. Seaman and Mr. Fairchild were committed to Simsbury mines for two years by the Superior Court of this Province, (which was assembled on purpose to try them,) having been found guilty of being friends to government *and good order*.

Lt. Smith of the Royal Artillery having been (falsely) accused of an assault upon a woman before a magistrate (one Williams, who behaved with great candor and uprightness upon this occasion,) a mittimus was made out to take him to gaol in order to stand trial, unless he could find bail

in £110. Some people were found to go bail for him, but were prevented by the mob, particularly one May of Weathersfield, and our good friend the printer, who threatened to take to gaol and ruin any in their business who should attempt it,—a remarkable instance of justice. However, the money being paid into the sheriff's hands, which it seems by a law here he could not refuse, Mr. Smith remained at large.

Copy of a letter to G. Washington.

Sir: When the parole which I signed to the Committee of Safety at Philadelphia was tendered to me, and I had read as far as "that I would not bear arms against the United Colonies for twelve months," I refused to sign it for so long a time, but one of the members (Mr. Morris,) observing that there was an alternative, vizt. unless exchanged,—I agreed and signed it, from which it is evident that I, with Ens. Rotton and Mr. McDermott, who were taken with me, as also Wm. Goldthorp, private soldier in his Majesty's 22d Regt., and Alexr. Allen, private soldier in his Majesty's 45th Regt., who came under the same articles, are entitled to our enlargement on the 12th of Aug. next, (at which period our parole expires,) for which I beg you will give orders. I should not have presumed to remind you of this circumstance, which I know would naturally occur, but through an apprehension that the multiplicity of business now on your hands might occasion it to escape your memory.

I am, Sir, with all due respect, etc., etc. etc.

Hartford, 23d July, 1776.

C. F.

Copy of part of a letter to Mrs. French, on the same topic.

— Our correspondence will soon, I hope, be less interrupted, as I expect to be released the 12th of next month, at which time my parole expires, and I had refused to sign even for so long a period, till I saw the alternative of exchange; it is therefore self-evident, that, without offering violence to the law of nations, they cannot refuse my enlargement, and the less so as, under that agreement, I refused an offer made me to have me rescued and taken on board the Asia, because I would not break my parole, and which, if I had agreed to it, would have made two captains

of the Provincials prisoners. As soon as I am released I will write you again.

Pray acquaint Mr. Rotton and Mrs. McDermott that as their sons have taken the conduct of their money affairs into their own hands, that I cannot take upon me to be accountable for any thing that may happen in future, or that has for some time past. In their difficulties, when taken prisoners, they depended on me; these over, they cast me off.

Sunday, 21st July.

Four companies poorly armed, and worse appointed, marched through this place on their way to New York, and one yesterday.

Monday, 22d July.

Ens. Moland was released. He had been taken up and sent to gaol in consequence of the late order of the Committee which confined us to our houses at dark; the guard watched him to a house and took him to gaol, (before it was dark,) under pretence that he was not in his own lodgings.

Thursday, 25th July.

A man asked me, as I was going to ride out, if Capt. McKay and Gov. Skene were not in gaol, to which I answered in the affirmative, and then rid off; upon my return I heard he was taken up by the Committee upon a supposition of bringing me letters, and though nothing of that sort appeared, and indeed could not, as he did not give me any, yet as they found two half joes in the heels of his shoes and a forty shilling bill in his pocket, which I was told was taken from him, they committed him to gaol; his name is Jones, alias Hill. A number of Provincial soldiers who were in town loaded their arms, determined, as I was informed, to shoot both him and me if the story was found to be true.—Hard fate when one man must suffer for the act of another, for suppose it had been true that somebody had writ to me, could I be considered as culpable for that persons act?

The clergyman of the church of England (Mr. Jarvis,) and the church wardens were so threatened at Middletown that they found themselves under the necessity of shutting up the church to avoid worse consequences.

This day Mahar (the cooper who had accused me of having an intention to blow up the magazine here,) had some words with Lieut. Hill of the 5th Regt., in consequence of insolent behavior to Mrs. Knox, our landlady, (and a very obliging, civil woman,) by the former; a scuffle ensued, in which Mahar finding Lt. Hill (who easily threw him, but would not strike him,) too powerful for him, ran to his house, (close to ours,) swearing not one of us should live till night, and immediately returned with a cooper's knife, as sharp as a razor, fixed to a handle of about two feet in length, and ran up to where Lt. Hill and I were standing, nor could I tell which of us he intended to attack but naturally imagined he would make at me, as he had before declared he would murder me in particular; but he attacked Lt. Hill, who, dexterously putting his intended stab to one side, I caught hold of his wrist with my right hand, and of the knife handle with my left, and, in two or three jerks got it out of his hand; in the interim Mr. McDermott who had also endeavored to prevent his doing mischief, received a severe wound on his penis, and a smaller one on his scrotum, but, we hope without danger to his life. Doct. Tudor was luckily in town and dressed him. Mahar was examined and committed to gaol with handcuffs, to the honor of the magistracy, notwithstanding the attempt of one person, C. S., to have him bailed; he said indeed that Mahar should be committed to gaol and we should all be sent there, for we were worse than him, and that he wondered how our landlord could harbor us, as he should be more apprehensive of being murdered by us than by him.*

Sunday, 25th July.

The church at Middletown was opened, but the clergyman only read some chapters in the bible and preached a ser-

* A long account of this affair is given in the *Concurrence* of July 29. See James Mahar's penitential confession, in *Concurrence*, Aug. 19.

mon in his own clothes, not daring to read the church service.

Thursday, 1st August.

Saw a man mowing oats with a cradle, which is a common scythe with three or four pieces of wood fixed so as to run parallel to its blade, which received the oats, by which means the man by a small motion of his hands laid it even and close together on the ground.

Monday, 5th August.

Not having received an answer from G. Washington to my last letter, I writ him the following one,

Sir: Notwithstanding I claimed my release in a letter I did myself the honor to write you a fortnight past, as being consonant with the tenor of my parole, yet I shall wave the pretensions arising from that circumstance, in favor of Major Meigs who, I am informed, is desirous to be exchanged for me. As it will mutually serve us I hope you will not have any objection, should Genl. Howe on his part agree, since in restoring him to his family it would also procure me the satisfaction to see my son. Col. Allen is also mentioned by the papers to be designed for exchange for any Col. or officer of inferior rank, should therefore the proposed one with Major Meigs prove abortive I flatter myself you will not object to my being exchanged for him. As I have been longer a prisoner than any of his Majesty's officers of my rank, so I think I stand in priority of claim.—But should not either of these take place from any unforeseen circumstances, I assure myself you will grant me the same indulgence given by Genl. Carlton to Major Meigs, when I shall readily sign a parole similar to his. I have the honor, etc.

Hartford 5th August 1776.

C. F.

Wednesday, 14th August.

We were called before the Committee at seven o'clock in the morning, where I complained of their making me wait a long time for them, when I was told in a very imperious and insolent tone that it was seven o'clock whenever the Committee thought proper to meet, to which I answered by assuring them that I never would dance attendance up-

on them. We were however obliged to sign a new parole restricting us to six miles, whereas we had had ten before, or take the alternative of a gaol, for which our mittimus was made out, and of which I obtained a copy.

Monday, 19th August.

A quarrel happened at our lodgings between Ens. Moland and our landlord, which was by this last related as follows, vizt., Ens. Moland,* in going through the kitchen knocked his foot against a chair and threw it down, he took it up and throwing it from him said, Damn the chair, which gave great offence to the landlord who was sitting in his parlor, and it was agreed between him and his wife that he should speak to Mr. Moland upon his return from the garden, and, as soon as he heard his step he called (familiarily) Moland,—to which he answered,—What? and went into the parlor, when the landlord asked him in a lordly tone and sitting on his chair, what he meant by throwing the chairs about, and added it was not the first time he had affronted him: to which Ens. Moland said Damn the chair and you too, and was immediately saluted with, You rascal, do you damn me in my own house?—upon which Mr. Moland knocked him down, and in the scuffle Mrs. Knox (his wife) got a black eye in endeavoring to part them. We ran down and found Lt. Hill, who had got into the parlor before us, had parted them, and Mr. Knox calling for the guard and swearing the rascal should go to gaol immediately.

Tuesday, 20th August.

Mr. Moland sent to me to go to the Committee, consisting only of Mr. Payne and Wadsworth, before which he had been called, where I found Mr. Epaphras Bull had not been sparing of the epithets rascal, and scoundrel, to Ens. Moland, without molestation from them. When the story as above had been heard, and Mr. Moland had informed them that Mr. Knox had damned him first, they were all dismissed with a caution to the constable to keep Ens. Mo-

*John Moland, Ens. 26th Reg. Art., taken prisoner by Genl. on Lake Champlain, May, 1775. See *Courant*, June 1775 Nov. 27. 1775.

land in custody. I stayed behind to complain that Mr. Smith, an apothecary, had opened a letter of mine, not having authority so to do, (and that a letter of Gov. Skene's, though passed and backed by a Committee of another place, had been opened by the gaoler,) without redress, when I saw Mr. Payne begin to write a mittimus without asking his colleague any questions, in consequence of which Ens. Moland was sent to gaol,—And shall not the Lord judge those who pervert judgment.

Sunday, 25th August.

Capt. D-l-p-ce [Delaplace] of the 26th Regiment making it a common practice to go to meeting, (apparently to gain the favor of the people, notwithstanding he heard his Majesty called Tyrant daily, and the *Honorable the Continental Congress, with success to the American arms* prayed for,) I thought it my duty to condemn it in despite of all consequences, and therefore wrote him the following letter.

HARTFORD, 25th Augst. 1776.

Sir: After the conversation I had with you on the topic of your going to meeting after you had heard his Majesty abused there, in which you assented to its impropriety as much as the other officers then present, I cannot help expressing my surprise at hearing you have been there this day, notwithstanding you made a seeming apology for your going there last Sunday.

Whatever your motives may be for so doing, you may assure yourself Genl. Howe will deem them greatly o'erbalanced by your going to a place where you must (or at least, may) hear his Majesty called Tyrant etc., and where the success of Congress and their arms is prayed for,—my duty obliges me to inform you of the impropriety of this act, as being inconsistent with your duty to your country and the allegiance you owe his Majesty.

I am, Sir, your most obt. hble servt.

CHRIS. FRENCH M. 22d Rt.

I received the following answer,

HARTFORD, Augst. 26th, 1776.

Sir: I am to acknowledge the receipt of yours dropped

here by Ens. Rotton last night. In answer to it, must inform you that I think myself arrived to a time of life that by no means wants a preceptor. As to allegiance to my King, and love to my country, am when called upon as ready to stand forth as Major French.

Am, Sir, your most obedt. Servant,
WM. DELAPLACE, Capt. 26th Regt.

To which I replied,

HARTFORD, Augst. 26th 1776.

Sir: In the letter which I wrote you last night, I pointed out to you that you had, in company with many of the officers, prisoners here, agreed to the impropriety of any British officer's going to meeting to hear the prayers and doctrines which are uttered there, I therefore cannot conceive why you should imagine I meant to become your preceptor.—No Sir, I am well convinced your age should point out to you the path you should tread, but when it appears to me (and you have acknowledged it did so to you,) that such steps, as you have taken, are inconsistent with propriety, I think it becomes my duty as senior officer here, *not as Preceptor*, to acquaint you with it, prior to my taking any other steps, and farther, to inform you now that if you persist in so doing, it shall be left to Genl. Howe to determine which of us has acted most consistent with his duty upon this occasion.—I neither arraigned your allegiance to his Majesty, nor love to your country, but told you such behavior was inconsistent with both.

I am, Sir, etc.

C. F. Maj. 22d Regt.

P. S. Please to let me know your determination.

I got the following answer,

HARTFORD, Augst. 26th 1776.

Sir: In answer to your second, pointing out to me my having in company with many officers, prisoners here, agreed to the impropriety of any British officer's going to meeting to hear the prayers and doctrines which are uttered there, am still of the same opinion as to Weathersfield, when I see thro' the same impropriety at the meeting-house here, shall desist.

Am, Sir, your most obt servt.

WM. DELAPLACE, Capt. 26th Regt.

P. S. I was not at home when your letter came, else should have answered it sooner.

I answered as follows,

HARTFORD Augst 26th 1776.

Sir: After what I wrote you relative to the meeting-houses, I imagined your own reason would have dictated the impropriety of persisting, even in part, but as it has not had the desired effect, I find myself under the necessity of giving some directions by way of orders, with which I expect your compliance as well as that of all officers and soldiers under your command.

I am Sir, Your most obt. hble. servt.

CHRIS. FRENCH, Maj. 22d Regt.

I then gave the following directions, which I had entered in the orderly books of the Royal Artillery and 26th Regt.

Major French of his Majesty's Twenty-second Regt. of Foot, having the strongest reasons to know that the clergy of the meeting-houses pray publicly for "*The Honorable the Continental Congress*," and the success of the arms actually employed against his Majesty, and that, both in their prayers and sermons, they abuse and revile him by the epithets of Bloody Tyrant etc., etc., etc., and call his navies and armies Murderers, Pirates, and Butchers, thinks it inconsistent with propriety, the allegiance due to his Majesty, and their duty to their country, that any British officer or soldier should attend at such service.—He therefore as senior officer here requests, and expects, that the officers and soldiers, prisoners in Connecticut, will not in future, as they must answer the contrary, go to such meeting-houses.

HARTFORD, 26th Augst. 1776.

Sir: You will please to direct that the officers and soldiers of his Majesty's Royal Regimt. of Artillery, and 26th Regt. under your care be acquainted with the above directions.

To Capt. Delaplace, of his Maj. 26th Regt.
and Capt. Williams, Royal Arty.

In a short time the following note was brought me,

HARTFORD, Augst. 26th 1776.

Sir, In obedience to your orders dated Augst. 26th 1776, have sent them to the officers of the 26th Regt.

Am, Sir, your most obt servant,

Majr. French. Wm. DELAPLACE, Capt. 26th Regt.

It is to be observed that Capt. Delaplace needed not to send the directions to Ens. Moland, as he was in gaol, (unless he intended to make this transaction public,) as he was not permitted to go out, and consequently could not go to meeting, and that he, Capt. Delaplace, knew he would not be allowed to see them till they were read by the gaoler and sentry, who he also knew would acquaint the Committee with it; yet he sent them as acknowledged above, in consequence of which I was called before the Committee, consisting this day of Jesse Root, chairman, Mr. Payne, and Mr. Samuel Wadsworth, on Wednesday, 28th August, and accused of the aforesaid *heinous* crime of issuing orders and directions, which were by them termed a libel against the *State of Connecticut*.

After Mr. Root had read it to me out of Capt. Delaplace's orderly book, which I knew again, and which they had by means best known to him procured, he asked me if that writing was done by my order, to which I replied, that, prior to my giving any answer to that question I desired to know who accused me, when the chairman told me he would not admit of arguments, but insisted upon my answering the question put to me. I told him that luckily I knew something of the laws of my country, which required that I should know my accusers. He said the laws had a press-yard for such as would not plead, and (saying he and his colleagues were my accusers,) again required my answer. I told him the committee could not be, at the same time my judge, jury, and accusers, and that, till I knew who was the latter, I would not give any answer. He then flew into a violent passion, told me I was impudent and insolent,—to which I said I was certain he would not dare to

tell me so in other circumstances, that he was an impudent, insolent fellow for telling me so, and that if his commander in chief (Washington) said as much to me at the head of his army, I should retort it upon him. This seemed to cool him, and he sent for the gaoler, (Ely Warner,) and sentry, (Jones,) who swore to their having seen that writing at the gaol, and Sergts. Nairn and Mr. Fall swore, (as was true,) that they had it from me, I now acknowledged it, and indeed I never intended to deny it, but was determined they should not make me accuse myself. After much altercation, in which Capt. Williams of the Royal Artillery, who was with me, and I asserted my right, as senior officer, to give directions to the other officers and soldiers in matters which did not interfere with them, the Provincials, but were calculated for the propriety of the soldiers' behavior as subjects of and servants to his Majesty, we were desired to withdraw to another room, and in about half an hour, called in again, when a paper was tendered to me to sign, by which I was to recall my orders, as they called them, or go to gaol. I told them I never would recall any directions I had given which I conceived to be just, and was, in consequence, committed to gaol, where my furniture, in a dirty room, consisted of, *imprimis*, one old fashioned chair without a bottom, secondly, one table, consisting of old and rough boards nailed together and very like a carpenters bench, no bedding of any sort, but this last article I supplied with my own and made myself perfectly easy, determined not to submit to such arbitrary and insolent terms as those offered me. My servant was not allowed to come to me.

Resolve of Committee on this head (a copy)
Connecticut, ss. Hartford, 28th Augst. 1776.

Whereas Major Christopher French, a prisoner of war to the United States of America, under the care, *and in the power of the Committee*, hath issued certain *orders* bearing date the 26th day of August inst. to the officers and soldiers who are prisoners of war in this state, therein *expressly in-*

hibiting their attendance on divine service in *any* of our religious assemblies, which order contains libellous reflections on the clergy and churches here established, and tending to bring them into contempt, and to the manifest disturbance of the peace and safety of the State: and whereas this Committee hath enquired into the said matter and resolved that said French's conduct is an evident instance of gross misbehavior, and thereon ordered and resolved that said French do immediately countermand and recall said orders, on pain of imprisonment; It is therefore resolved and ordered that if any of the officers or soldiers, being prisoners under the care of this Committee as aforesaid, shall undertake to publish said orders, or carry the same into execution, or shall make or publish any orders, during the time they shall so continue prisoners, relative to any matter either civil, military, or ecclesiastical, or shall be aiding or assisting therein, or shall yield obedience to any such orders, during the time they shall remain prisoners, shall, on conviction thereof, be punished by imprisonment or otherwise according to the demerit of his or their offence.

Per order of the Committee,
signed JESSE ROOT, Chairman.

Extracts from Jonathan Trumbull's Proclamation, dated the 18th June, 1776,—to corroborate my assertion in the requisition I issued on the 26th Augst.

— And convince the unrelenting *Tyrant of Britain* that they are resolved to be free, etc.

— And all the ministers of the Gospel in this Colony are directed and desired to publish this Proclamation in their several churches and congregations, etc.

Copy of an order (without date.)

To Ely Warner, keeper of the Gaol in Hartford,

You are hereby directed and ordered to let all the prisoners in your gaol who have been committed by order of this Committee go out to the house of office on their necessary occasions in the day time only, and but one or two at a time under the care of the guard and in such manner as not to make their escape.

Per order of the Committee,
signed JESSE ROOT, Chairman.

N. B. Prior to this order the prisoners were not permitted to go out even upon necessary occasions, but upon the gaoler's and Jones's (one of the sentries) complaining that it was offensive to them, the above order was given.

Letter to the Committee of Hartford.

COMMON GAOL, HARTFORD, 2d Septr. 1776.

Gentn. Under the influence of the upright and benign government of his present Majesty, our Lord and Sovereign upon earth, we his subjects, have an incontrovertable right to an equal participation of, and protection from those laws so wisely formed and established from time to time, by the ablest men of their ages, upon a basis as immutable, to all appearance, as that of the earth.—By them the poor are protected from the oppressions of the rich and powerful, while these are equally so from the depredations and insolencies of the more numerous populace.

From principles of freedom like these, (and I imagine they are the real, true principles,) I apply to you, under whose *good care and kind protection* my step-dame Fortune has placed me, for permission to send the enclosed paper as addressed, in order to my justification from a manifest falsity alledged against me, vizt. that a certain writing of mine "contains libellous reflections upon the clergy," etc. From your wisdom in council and equity in judgment, (Nemo mortalium omnibus horis sapit,) I assure myself I have every thing to hope in favor of my application, and that I shall consequently be able to convince the few biassed people in Hartford and its environs, of the malice of my accusers, and that *partiality* itself shall no longer be able to accuse me of a crime my soul abhors, and that your readiness to do me justice against my false accusers will meet that praise due to its merit and impartiality. Appropos to this is a small French distich, which runs thus,

Sur les bonnes loix,

Dans trois culs de sacs il y a trois culs, maniac

Mais dans trois culs il n'y a pas trois culs de sacs.

I am Gentn. with all due regard

Your most obt. hl. servt.

CHRIS. FRENCH, Maj. 22d Regt.

To the Committee
at Hartford.

COMMON GAOL, HARTFORD IN CONNECTICUT,
2d Sept. 1776.

Gentn. Whereas I stand charged with having made libellous reflections on the clergy and churches here established, etc., etc., etc., which charge is founded on the request I made to the British officers and soldiers, on the 26th. inst., wherein I declared that I had the strongest reasons to know that the said clergy, both in their prayers and sermons, abused and reviled his Majesty with the epithets of Bloody Tyrant etc., etc., etc., and called his navies and armies, Murderers, Pirates, and Butchers, I therefore, in justification of myself, (being now confined in close prison,) do request that all his Majesty's officers who have ever been at, or have frequented any such places of worship during their being prisoners in this Colony, will do me the justice to declare upon honor how far my reasons above cited are consonant with truth.

I am Gentn. Your most
obedt. hl. servt.

CHRIS. FRENCH, Maj. 22d Regt.

To the British Officers, Prisoners at Hartford and Weathersfield Connecticut.

The above was the enclosed paper mentioned in my letter to the Committee of the same date.

This evening Jones, alias Hill, mentioned in a former part of this journal, made his escape, upon which our friend Jones, (the sentry,) told us we should be closer confined, and we observed that was nearly impossible, unless they put us in irons.

Tuesday, 3d Sept.

A young lad, who was working at some picketing which was putting round the gaol for fear we should escape, said in the course of talking of the defeat of the Provincials on Long Island that he did not know but the Regulars might soon be in possession of Hartford, but he was pretty sure we should not live to see it. Upon asking him why he thought so, as we were all in good health, he answered that he was *sartin sure* the people would put us all to death, as he had heard some of them declare they would.

A powder-mill and a saw-mill, about 4 miles distant, were both destroyed by fire.

Wednesday, 4th Sept.

This night one of the sentries over us was Mr. Root, the Chairman of the Committee's son, because it produced a dollar, so parsimonious are they and so scarce of men.

My face grew so tender, for want of air and exercise that I could scarce bear to shave myself.

Thursday, 5th Sept.

I was informed my son was wounded at the attack in Long Island.—Thanks to the gods—my boy has done his duty.

Mr. Herring having presumed to stand on the step on the outside of the street door where I was, (but on the inside, for the only indulgence shewn us was to go that far sometimes, and only two at a time,) the sentry ordered him in and the gaoler told us if we left our rooms without leave, we must be kept in the strong room, and if that did not do there were irons to restrain us.

Not a soul was allowed to come to us.

Tuesday, 10th Sept.

Capt. McKay and Mr. Graves made their escape this night in a manner which surprized all without, as much as us their fellow prisoners, since there was no appearance of any breach, and two strong prison doors were bolted and the outside one locked.

Wednesday, 11th Sept.

We were confined more rigidly on account of their escaping. I sent out two pair leather breeches to be cleaned, which were not allowed to pass till narrowly examined. Our sentries were doubled.

Thursday, 12th Sept.

Our gaoler was removed, and another (one Ensign,) put in his place. This afternoon the sheriff came to the gaol and removed me from the room I had hitherto lain in, (notwithstanding there were two doors to fasten me in every

night,) to the lock up strong room, and gave orders that we should not be permitted to go out of it unless upon necessary occasions, and then only one or two at a time, and not to allow us to speak to any body when out; nor were we allowed to speak even to our servants except at the bars and in the presence of the sentries. He told the new gaoler, in an ironical manner, in my presence, to use me *very well*, to be sure to treat me as an officer of the King's, a regular officer, who was fighting against them, etc., etc.—all of which, he assured me, he designed to mean that I should be treated like a gentleman etc.

Friday, 13th Sept.

We made a paper night-cap, (the emblem of a Committee man,) on which we wrote,—Chairman of the Committee,—and put it upon a little iron figure of a man a smoking, and which had been the front of an and-iron in our gaol room, and broke off; we also made him a paper petticoat on which we wrote the two following lines, with a small alteration, from Hudibras,—

I, like a maggot in a sore,
Do that which gave me life devour.

This we put in our iron window for the inspection of passengers.

The Advertisement offering a reward for the apprehension of French, after his escape, Dec. 27, describes him as "about 50 years of age, wears his hair, is small of stature, hard favoured." Corrected, Dec. 30.

COLONEL DANIEL PUTNAM'S LETTER

RELATIVE TO THE

BATTLE OF BUNKER HILL

AND

GENERAL ISRAEL PUTNAM.

[In this article the notes, with one exception, were all written by the author.]

To the President and Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.

THE account published in 1818 of the battle of Bunker Hill, and especially the charges which it contained against the character of the late Major General Israel Putnam, has led to a critical examination of the subject; and the further this examination has been pursued, the greater has the public interest been excited to elicit the truth, and the whole truth, concerning it.

For almost half a century the interesting details of the first considerable battle fought in our great revolutionary contest, and, considered in all its bearings, perhaps second to none which succeeded it, were very imperfectly known to the generation which has since risen up, and they seem to have been almost as little understood by some who were actors in the tragic scenes they have endeavoured to portray.

Far from my heart lies the wish to revive any of the unpleasant feelings which a former controversy may have

kindled; for of all others, the friends of Genl. Putnam have least cause to regret the investigation that has already taken place:—they fear not that it should be continued, but it is their earnest desire that it may be pursued until every truth which has any bearing on the transactions of the 17th of June, 1775, may be as fully developed as the nature of the case will now admit. Too long has this important subject slumbered in obscurity,—so long that the door of access for information from the projectors of the enterprise, and the chief actors in it, is now forever closed by death.

But the Bunker Hill Monument Association, which numbers on its roll some of the master spirits of the age, may redeem in part the time that has been lost, by examining, and giving to every sort of attainable evidence the weight it deserves. And, while I acknowledge with gratitude the respect that has been manifested for the memory of Genl. Putnam, by the kind attentions bestowed on his son, and feel myself bound to avoid every thing having a tendency to disquiet the public mind, I hope not to be thought unreasonably officious in addressing a communication to the *Government of the Association*.

There are some facts relating to Genl. Putnam that have been misstated and ought to be corrected; and there are also many incidents calculated to shed light on his character, and particularly as it is connected with a transaction which it may be the business of the future historian to investigate and settle,—that are known perhaps to no one now living but myself. The years I have already numbered admonish me that many more are not to be expected, and that this may be the only opportunity I shall ever have to record them.

Little respect is due to a son who feels regardless of his father's good name; and the confession shall not be withheld, that I am ready to sacrifice every thing but *truth* to this paramount object. I make this remark, that those

who read it may understand my feelings and make such allowance as they see fit, for any of the statements which may follow.

Whoever has lived sixty-five years, and will look back to events which occurred at the age of fifteen or sixteen, tho' they may be the ordinary events of common life, he will yet find them more distinctly impressed on his memory than those of a later period; but, if they have in them any thing new or uncommon,—if they differ essentially in their magnitude or importance from such as had ordinarily occurred in his own sphere of life, they become indelible.

Translated from the plough in April 1775 to the headquarters of a popular general officer, and remaining there till the March following, the change in my condition was great, though that general was my father, and the impressions left of passing events can hardly fail to be abiding. Having little to do but to see, and hear, and treasure up in my mind, the sayings and doings of others,—with daily opportunities also of witnessing the familiar interchange of sentiments and opinions of distinguished men, and having besides the advantage of learning from my father every thing he knew, that was proper for a youth of my age to know,—I must have been an arrant blockhead not to have understood pretty well the general history of the campaign of '75, without any subsequent helps. But, when it is considered that for the four succeeding years I was with him in the army, and most of that time in his military family, as his aid,—and that till the day of his death, more than fifteen years after, was constantly near him, I must have had abundant opportunity of knowing all that he could communicate on the subject.

A careful retrospection, I hope, has enabled me to relate some incidents that may be interesting at this time, and assist the future historian in his search after truth; and I most respectfully ask, that this statement

may be permitted to remain on the files of the Association, with any other evidence it may be thought proper to preserve. It is also my intention to send a duplicate to the Historical Society lately incorporated at Hartford in this State.

In Mr. Bradford's account of the battle of Bunker Hill, recently published in Boston, although the character of Genl. Putnam is treated respectfully, and no improper motives are attributed to the author,—yet, there is a note on the 9th page which requires explanation. Speaking of Genl. Putnam he says, “though *called General*, he had *then*” (at the time of the battle,) “command only of a Regiment.” Now if the fact was indeed so,—that Putnam had no rank above that of Colonel, and that he was only “called General” by courtesy, as the writer seems to intimate, well may the claim, which he always maintained from the time of the battle till the day of his death, that he was appointed to, and did in fact exercise command from the first occupancy of the hill, until they were driven from it by the point of their enemies bayonets,—well, I say, may such a claim be disputed, for there were other colonels engaged, and their “relative rank” had not been settled. Probably Mr. Bradford's error originated from circumstances which it may not be improper to relate at this time.

A few yet living remember that some time before the battle of Lexington,* the people of Connecticut were alarmed

* Saturday, September 3d, 1774, the report of the seizure of the powder at Quarry Hill, by order of General Gage, reached Pomfret “with the addition, that the British troops and men-of-war had fired on the people of Boston, and killed six men at the first shot.” Messengers were immediately dispatched to summon the militia of the neighboring towns: and so promptly was the call responded to that Putnam and his committee wrote to Boston, on Monday, “But for counter intelligence, we should have had forty thousand men, well equipped and ready to march this morning.”—Bancroft's History, VII., 120, 121. The following characteristic note (now in the possession of Mr. Brinley) was addressed by Putnam to Colonel Godfrey Malbone, of New-

with a report that the "Regulars" had left Boston, and were marching through the country in hostile array. This report came, as it were, on the wings of the wind, and spread like wildfire over the country: none stopped to trace its source, for every one was in motion for other purposes. Old men were mounted to spread the alarm that the "Philistines were coming:"—the militia men, without waiting to transfer their flocks and herds to their wives' and children's care, slung the powder-horn over their shoulders, and ran in haste with their muskets to meet on *training ground*, and every "minute-man" was at his rendezvous. Nearly the whole population east of Connecticut River, capable of bearing arms, held them in their hands; and simultaneously looking forward for a leader, with one heart and one voice, Col. Israel Putnam was proclaimed their *General*; and notices to this effect flowed in upon him from every quarter after the alarm, (made probably to try the spirit of the country,) had subsided.

It was from such authority that the title of *General* was first conferred on Col. Putnam, and it was reciprocally kept in view, by those who gave, and him who accepted it, until the decisive moment arrived which called him from his plough to join the patriot host at Cambridge. When this time came, he loitered not, but left *me*, the driver of his team, to unyoke it in the furrow, and not many days after to follow him to camp.

I have been circumstantial in this relation, because it is

port, (then at Poinfret, where he had a large estate,) immediately after receiving the report from Boston.

"SATURDAY, 12 P. M.

DEAR SIR. I have this minute had an express from Boston that the fight between Boston and the Regulars [began] last night at sunset, and the cannon began to and continued playing all night, and they beg for help,—and don't you think *it is time to go*?

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant,

ISRAEL PUTNAM.

To Col. Malbone."

[*Pub. Com.*]

descriptive of the time in which it happened, and because all the particulars of it are as fresh in my recollection as if they were of yesterday. But Putnam was not long without a *legitimate* title, for before the month of April expired, (as the records of the State will shew,) he was appointed a Brigadier General, by the Assembly of the Colony, and long before the battle of Bunker Hill was in possession of his commission. Nor was it altogether correct in Mr. Bradford to state, that previous to that battle "he had command only of a Regiment."

It is true, there was at that time no other Connecticut troops at Cambridge but Putnam's regiment and two or three independent companies;—but Sargeant's regiment, posted at Inman's house, and Patterson's, still farther advanced towards Lechmere's Point, (both of Massachusetts,) were placed under his immediate orders. I know this fact, from having often myself in the night season accompanied the officers who performed the "grand rounds" for Genl. Putnam's command; and also, that the selection of officers for this duty was made alternately from those regiments and his own.

The fact may not now be generally known, but it is not the less a *truth*, that the presence of Genl. Putnam at Cambridge was extremely desirable to Genl. Ward, and it was for that reason that he was separated from the other Connecticut troops and placed near Head Quarters. His "unaccountable popularity" was not confined to Connecticut, but pervaded the whole of the Massachusetts forces then before Boston; and there was not a soldier in their ranks but seemed ready to follow him, to fight for him, and if need be to die by his side. Even Warren, the accomplished gentleman, the daring patriot, and the future hope of the army, delighted, when the complicated duties of his station permitted, to spend an hour at Putnam's quarters. He would listen attentively to his tales of a former war, and make earnest and particular enquiries of him as to the

relative power and usefulness of British and Provincial troops in that war. Putnam maintained, that when the Provincial regiments were well officered, they were not inferior to the British. "Our men," he said, "would always follow wherever their officers led,—I know this to have been the case with mine, and have also seen it in other instances." Warren asked if 10,000 British should march out of Boston, what number in his opinion would be competent to meet them? Putnam answered, let me pick my officers, and I would not fear to meet them with half the number;—not in a pitched battle to stop them at once, for no troops are better than the British, but I would fight on the retreat, and every stone wall we passed should be lined with their dead;—our men are lighter of foot, they understand our grounds and how to take advantage of them; and besides, we should only fall back on our *reserve*, while every step they advanced, the country would close on their flanks and rear.*

Until the appointment of Washington, Genl. Ward's was a delicate and highly responsible station, and it was natural he should not only wish for Genl. Putnam's experience and advice to assist him in difficulties, but that there should be one who stood high in the confidence of the people, *on* whom he might lean for support, and *with* whom he might divide the responsibility. Their views of public affairs, and the proper measures to be pursued, were not exactly the same, but the utmost harmony subsisted between them. The predominant *wish* of that time was "peace and reconciliation,"—and the prevalent *opinion*, growing out of

* This doctrine might have been *orthodox* in '75, while the spirit of the country was up, but it would have been heretical in '76, when the little remnant of an almost disbanded army, worn out with fatigue and spiritless from disaster, was flying through New Jersey with their enemy at their heels, and not an arm uplifted to stay their progress. But Putnam had reference only to New England, and perhaps at no stage of the war would his position have been *very* erroneous, as applied to that particular section of our country.

that wish, that Britain would relax the rigour of her measures, and a compromise be the result. Such were the views of Genl. Ward, but Putnam held different sentiments. Without any wish for "reconciliation," he believed that Britain would persevere in her demands, and that America had no alternative but submission, or a long protracted resistance. In support of this remark, though it may be somewhat out of place, I beg leave to relate an anecdote, of which I was myself a witness.

From the arrival of Washington at Cambridge till the enemy left Boston, his and Putnam's families were not only on the most friendly terms, but their intercourse was very frequent. Not a week passed but they dined together at the quarters of one or the other. One day in the month of September, Genl. Washington at his table gave for a toast,—"*A speedy and honorable peace*," and all appeared to join with good will in the sentiment. Not many days after, at Putnam's quarters, addressing himself to Washington he said,—"*Your Excellency, the other day, gave us "a speedy and honorable peace," and I, as in duty bound, drank it; and now, I hope Sir, you will not think it an act of insubordination if I ask you to drink one of rather a different character: I will give you, Sir, "A long and a moderate war."*" It has been truly said of Washington, that he seldom smiled and almost never laughed; but the sober and sententious manner in which Putnam delivered his sentiment, and its seeming contradiction to all his practice, came so unexpectedly on Washington that he did laugh, more heartily than I ever remember to have seen him before or after; but presently he said, "You are the last man Genl. Putnam from whom I should have expected such a toast, you who are all the time urging vigorous measures, to plead now for a *long*, and, what is still more extraordinary, a *moderate* war, seems strange indeed." Putnam replied, that "the measures he advised were calculated to prevent, not hasten, a peace, which would be only a *rotten thing*, and last no longer than

it divided us. I expect nothing but a *long* war, and I would have it a *moderate* one, that we may hold out till the mother country becomes willing to cast us off forever." Washington did not soon forget this toast; for years after, and more than once, he reminded Putnam of it. But let me return from this digression to my narrative.

In the month of May, an armed vessel of the enemy was destroyed near Chelsea, by a party under Genl. Putnam's command, and when he returned to his quarters, wet, and covered to the waist with marsh mud, contracted by wading over the flats to burn the vessel, he met there Genl. Ward and Dr. Warren. Without changing his dress, he related to them the events of the day, and added, "I wish we could have something of this kind to do every day; it would teach our men how little danger there is from cannon balls, for tho' they have sent a great many at us, nobody has been hurt by them." "I would," he continued, "that Gage and his troops were within our reach, for we would be like hornets about their ears; as little birds follow and teaze the eagle in his flight, we would every day contrive to make them uneasy." Warren smiled and said nothing, but Genl. Ward replied, "As peace and reconciliation is what we seek for, would it not be better to act only on the defensive, and give no unnecessary provocation?" Putnam turned to Warren and said with emphasis,—"*You know*, Dr. Warren, we shall have no peace worth any thing, till we gain it by the sword." Instead of any direct reply, Warren observed—"Your wet clothes must be uncomfortable, General, and we will take our leave that you may change them,"—and taking Putnam's hand, he continued, "I admire your spirit and respect Genl. Ward's prudence,—both will be necessary for us, and one must temper the other."

Frequent interviews of this sort happened between these and other officers at Putnam's quarters, which was at Borland's house, and being central was a common resort

for the higher officers of the army, as well as the leading characters in civil affairs. Putnam's regiment, which had a partial supply of tents, was encamped on the high ground near Phipps' house, and a considerable share of the men were every day employed in throwing up redoubts, called No. 1, and No. 2, for besides their usefulness for defence if the enemy should advance in that direction, Putnam's experience had taught him that raw and undisciplined troops *must* be employed in some way or other, or they would soon become vicious and unmanagible. His maxim was, "It is better to dig a ditch every morning and fill it up at evening than to have the men idle."

One afternoon, as Putnam had been marking out a new line on which his men had just commenced work, Col. Prescott and Col. Gardiner came up, "I wish General, said Prescott, your men were digging nearer Boston." Putnam replied that he wished so too, and hoped ere long we should all be of one mind.

About this time an exchange of prisoners took place at Charlestown, where Genl. Putnam was present in behalf of the army, and Dr. Warren, as the head of the civil department. Putnam returned to his quarters in high spirits,—said he had met again some of his old friends, but appeared most gratified that Gage should have consented to an exchange of prisoners. "He may call us *Rebels*, now, if he will, but why then don't he hang his prisoners instead of exchanging them? By this act he has virtually placed us on an equality, and acknowledged our *right* of resistance." Next day there was quite a *levee* of officers at Putnam's quarters to talk about the exchange, etc. He related to them all the particulars, and turning to Col. Prescott, said, "Colonel, I saw ground yesterday that may suit your purpose, I suppose you have not forgotten your remark of the other day, about *digging*; but more of this another time." Prescott called in the evening, and they walked out together; for several succeeding days

he was at Putnam's quarters, and they were in private conversation.

After a while, nearly all the troops quartered at Cambridge were ordered to parade on the common, armed and accoutred. My name had been entered on the roll of Genl. Putnam's company as a volunteer, and on some occasions I took my station in the ranks, this was one of them, and I felt proud to be numbered among what I then thought a mighty host destined for some great enterprize. We were marched to Charlestown, and I supposed it was intended to "take Boston," but, after parading about on the high grounds awhile, we all returned in safety to our quarters at Cambridge.

For several days after, Genl. Putnam appeared thoughtful and absent in his mind. In such seasons of abstraction he was in the habit of giving an indistinct kind of utterance to his thoughts,—or what may be termed "*talking to one's self*," and broken sentences, such as follow, escaped his lips,—“We must go there,”—“Think they will come out,”—“Yes, yes, they must,”—“I'll go with my regiment any how,”—“We must go in the night,”—“We'll carry our tools and have a trench before morning,”—“He's a good fellow,”—“He wants to go,”—“Says he will go, if they'll let him,”—“Lay still—*lay still I say*, till they come close,”—“They wont hurt you,”—“I know 'em of old, they fire without aim,”—these and such like burstings of his mind continued several days,—not in a regular chain as I have set them down, but breaking forth occasionally, and often accompanied with some significant gesture, which left no doubt but he was contemplating some important military operation. To *me* it was almost certain, for I had all my life been accustomed to such sallies, but more especially after the *alarm* before related, up to the affair at Lexington, he had almost daily such like communings with himself.

Mr. Inman, besides being a timid man, prone to seek his

own safety, was also "a friend of government," and on the day of Lexington battle retired to Boston, leaving his house and farm to the management of his wife, who had several young ladies residing with her. The soldiers had committed some depredations on her property, and fearing personal insult, she applied to Genl. Putnam for protection. Sargeant's regiment was quartered in the out buildings on the farm, but for greater security of the family, by direction of my father I had from about the middle of May, lodged every night in her house, and young as I was, the family confided much in the protection afforded by "General Putnam's son."

The day before the battle of Bunker Hill, I noticed an unusual stir among the troops at Cambridge. Putnam's regiment was under arms, and I was informed by the Adjutant that a detachment had been made from it for "secret service;" but what at the time impressed my mind most strongly, was the preparation my father himself was making. With his own hands he prepared cartridges for his pistols,—took out the old flints and put in new. While he was doing this, Col. Prescott came in, and observing what he was about, said in a low tone, I see General, *you* are making preparation, and *we* shall be ready at the time. A little after sunset my father called me aside, and said, "You will go to Mrs. Inman's as usual tonight, and it is time you were gone. You need not return here in the morning, but stay there tomorrow; the family may want you, and if they find it necessary to leave the house, you must go with them where they go; and try now my son, to be as serviceable to them as you can." This order, connected with what I had seen during the day, left no doubt in my mind that some military movement was going forward in which my father was to participate. I called to mind his abstraction and self-communing,—the broken sentences that had escaped him, indicating battle and bloodshedding, and my imagination pictured him as mangled with wounds

and none to help him. With earnest entreaty, I asked leave to accompany him.—“*You, dear father,*” I said, “may need my assistance *much more* than Mrs. Inman; *Pray* let me go where you are going.” “No, no, Daniel,—do as I have bid you,” was the answer, which he affected to give sternly, while his voice trembled and his eyes filled. Then as if perfectly comprehending what had been passing in my mind, he added, “You can do little my son, where I am going, and besides, there will be enough to take care of me.” I went as directed to Mrs. Inman’s, but took no interest in the conversation of her nieces, or the maternal kindness of their aunt: my mind was elsewhere, and I retired early to bed, but not to sleep: the night was as sleepless to me as to those who were toiling or watching on the confines of Boston. I had a strong suspicion that Charlestown was the spot to which the hostile movement was directed; and long before the first gun fired, had risen and seated myself at the window of my chamber, anxiously looking thitherward.

The cannonade which commenced early, and seemed every moment to increase, soon brought the family together in terror and amazement. Mrs. Inman’s first request to me was “Pray don’t leave *us* till you hear from your father.” I told her, from what I had seen the day before, and my father’s direction to me at parting, I could hardly expect to hear from him that day, and might *never* hear more from him while he lived. I then repeated to her the order my father had given me and the request I had made of him, adding (as well as my emotions would allow me to add,) “and now, my dear madam, though my heart and soul must be with *him*, I will stay with and do all in my power to assist *you*.” She clasped me in her arms and exclaimed, “Oh happy General Putnam in such a son,—happy youth in possession of so good a mind!” And from that moment to the end of her life, which was not till a number of years after the war had closed, she manifested for me all the

kindness and affection which the exclamation of that moment indicated. There is *one** besides myself yet living who will remember how unmeasured that kindness was.

Upon my promise of returning immediately, Mrs. Inman consented that I should run to my father's quarters, and learn if possible where he was, and what might be the expected result of the cannonade, which had now become tremendous. On my way I passed the encampment of Genl. Putnam's Regt. which was under arms, and observing Major Durkee in front, I asked him if he knew where I could find my father? He seemed for a moment lost at such a question from me, but presently, pointing his sword towards Charlestown, he said, "Where yonder cannon roar,—where else would you expect to find him?" I pressed forward to Genl. Putnam's quarters, where I found the adjutant of his regiment, who informed me the General had been there, but for a moment, and had returned to Charlestown as soon as the firing began. Not satisfied with this, I walked on to Genl. Ward's quarters. The General had gone out, but I found his secretary, Mr. Joseph Ward, who appeared a good deal confused and agitated. He immediately asked if "I did not think the British would be in Cambridge before night," and added, "Your father was here before dawn of day this morning, and has gone back to Charlestown." I asked if Genl. Ward had gone there also? "No, but he has gone to send a reinforcement to your father." (This was probably between eight and nine in the morning.) Returning to Mrs. Inman's, I remained there in anxious suspense, till we saw Charlestown in flames, and heard an incessant roar of musketry.

Mrs. Inman had been all day expecting the British would embark troops from the bottom of the common in

*Mrs. Judge Robbins.

Boston, and land them near where the Lexington detachment was landed, and her attention had been chiefly directed to that quarter; but the furious discharge of musketry made it evident they had gone out some other way, and were engaged in a battle, the issue or consequences of which could not be foreseen. The day was drawing towards its close, and dreading the horrors that might overwhelm her family in the night, every thing was put in requisition for a hasty removal;—but it was after sunset, and not until it had been ascertained at Cambridge that the British had gained possession of Charlestown heights, with a loss on both sides that none pretended to calculate, that we passed through the scene of confusion there visible, on our way to *Brush Hill*, now the residence of Judge Robbins. We were hastily and but imperfectly accoutred for the jaunt, so that it was midnight before we reached our destination. On the way, we learned from people who passed us (some of whom had been in the battle, or claimed to have been so,) that General Putnam was safe; but his escape was considered miraculous, for wonderful tales were told us of the dangers with which he had been surrounded, and the unconcern he appeared to feel when they were the greatest.

I was not long next morning in retracing my steps of the last night back to Cambridge. Genl. Putnam was not at his quarters: he had been there it was said for a few minutes only, and with fresh men was then fortifying Prospect Hill. There I found him about ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th June, dashing about among the workmen throwing up intrenchments, and often placing a sod with his own hands. He wore the same clothes he had on when I left him, thirty-eight hours before, and affirmed he had neither put them off, nor washed himself since;—and we might well believe him, for the aspect of all bore evidence that he spoke the truth.

I joined my entreaty to the earnest request of every offi-

cer round him, that he would go to his quarters and take some refreshment and rest. He enquired what had become of Mrs. Inman? I told him where I had left her in safety, and we went home together. I had often heard him relate his adventures of a former war, and my curiosity was intense to know the particulars of the late battle from an authentic source.

At different times, and all perhaps within a week,—all certainly while they were fresh in his recollection, he related to me the substance of what follows.

Here let it be premised, that I will not vouch my relation shall be in his own words exactly, but only that I will endeavour to come as near them as possible; and having so often heard them repeated in later times, in detached parts as conversation led to them, I think there will be no great variance from the original. Nor will I say that the *order* of his communications shall always be preserved, for in some instances events may have been related before the circumstances which led to them. All I can promise is, and thus much I *do* promise, that my narrative shall be given fairly, and without in any case intentionally varying the sense.

From the time of the exchange of prisoners, Genl. Putnam said, he had never lost sight of occupying the high grounds at Charlestown. That he had at various times conversed with both civil and military characters on the subject, some of whom were in favour of the measure, but more against it. That he had mentioned it to some of the Committee of Safety, and to two members of Congress at Watertown, but found little encouragement from either. That he had once pressed the consideration of the subject upon Genl. Ward, who discountenanced it, but afterwards, at his particular request permitted him to march most of the army from Cambridge to Charlestown, when he again examined the ground more minutely. That he had soon afterwards a spirited conversation with Genl. Ward, Dr.

Warren, and Col. (or Genl.) Joseph Palmer,* a member of the Committee of Safety, who inclined to favour the measure, but Ward and Warren both opposed it, alledging that as we had no powder to spare, and no battering cannon, it would be idle to make approaches on the town.

He told them they had entirely mistaken his views,—that it was not for the purpose of battering the town, but to draw the enemy from it, where we might meet them on equal terms, and that Charlestown and Dorchester were the only points where this could be done,—that the army wished to be employed, and the country was growing dissatisfied at the inactivity of it.

It was objected again, that it might bring on a general battle, and that in our situation it was neither politick or safe to risk one. He replied, 2000 men will be enough to risk, and with that number we will go on and defend ourselves as long and as well as we can, and then give the ground.

“But, suppose your retreat should be intercepted?”

We will guard against that, and run when we can contend no longer with advantage;—we can outrun them, and behind every wall rally and oppose their progress till we join our friends again.

But, suppose the worst, suppose us hemmed in and no retreat;—we know what we are contending for,—we will set our country an example of which it shall not be ashamed, and show those who seek to oppress us what men can do who are determined to live *free* or not live at all.

Warren, he said, rose, and walked several times across the room,—leaned a few moments over the back of a chair in a thoughtful attitude, and said,—“*Almost thou persuadest*

* This gentleman afterwards purchased a large tract of land in this town, and in 1782, while on a visit here, he called on Genl. Putnam, and, recurring to the time, recapitulated to him with great minuteness the details of that conversation.

me, *General Putnam*,—but I must still think the project a rash one. Nevertheless, if it should ever be adopted, and the strife becomes hard, you must not be surprised to find me with you in the midst of it." "I hope not Sir," said Putnam, "you are yet but a young man, and our country has much to hope from you, both in council and in war. It is only a little brush we have been contemplating;—let some of us who are older and can well enough be spared *begin* the fray;—there will be time enough for you hereafter, for it will not soon be ended."*

It was not long after this that a council of war, at which Warren was present, determined to fortify Bunker Hill. There was, Genl. Putnam said, a great deal of conversation and debate before this determination was made, but it was finally agreed that 2000 men should be employed in the undertaking. Putnam was desirous that his own regiment should make part of the force, not so much because he thought them better or braver men than others, but because they were better known to each other, and were also better equipped than any other troops at Cambridge,† but Genl. Ward would not listen to his proposition. That regiment, he said, had already the post of danger if the enemy should advance on Cambridge. They were in advance, had thrown

* Genl. Putnam, when relating this conversation, observed that the fate of Warren brought to his mind that of Lord Howe, who fell by his side 17 years before, and to whom he had given similar advice. I asked, if he knew any of the particulars of Warren's fate, or where, or at what time he lost his life. Nothing, he replied, except that Prescott told me he was in the redoubt braving the enemy when they stormed it,—but I never saw him after we parted before the battle began.

† It may be remembered that Col. Grosvenor, in a letter addressed to me and published in 1818, speaking of the detachment from Putnam's Regt. under Knowlton at the rail fence, says, "Each man was provided with *one pound of gunpowder and forty-eight balls*. This ammunition was received however prior to marching to Breeds Hill." In conversation with him not long before his death, he said that Putnam's Regt., and he believed *all* the Continental troops, had a like supply. There is a great difference between this and a "*gill cup of powder and fifteen balls*."

up works, and ought to defend them; and he was even unwilling that *any* of that regiment should be removed from the station it occupied. Putnam, however, claimed, and *insisted* on having part of his regiment with him, and the detachment under Knowlton was made accordingly. It was further stated by Putnam, that there had been an understanding between him and Col. Prescott, that the latter should have a part in the expedition if it should ever be undertaken. Genl. Ward was apprized of this, and Prescott with all his regiment was ordered on that service. The reason why the whole number contemplated for the expedition was not all ordered at once, Genl. Putnam stated to be this;—it was found that intrenching tools could not be had for more than about 1000 men, and he agreed to go on with that number over night, and return in the morning for refreshments and a reinforcement or relief for those who were expected to toil all the night,—that the day was just dawning when he returned to Cambridge for that purpose, but the furious cannonade that commenced as soon almost as he reached there, and the uncertainty whether the enemy might not even then be landing, left him only time to request Genl. Ward would hasten on the troops and refreshments as soon as possible, while he himself galloped back to see what was doing, and contrive what was in future to be done.

There was certainly a great deal of confusion at Cambridge, and probably some unavoidable delay in consequence, before the order for Col. Stark to march reached him at Medford. Genl. Putnam was impatient of this delay, and rode a second time to Genl. Ward's quarters, when he was informed of the order that had been sent for the New Hampshire troops to march.

(Lest this expression should be thought to imply censure of Genl. Ward, it is an act of justice due his memory to state, that, although the intended reinforcement was expected by Genl. Putnam from Cambridge, and to have been on

the ground early in the morning, in which case more time might have been left to complete his preparations, yet he was sensible of the necessity which Genl. Ward felt of preserving Cambridge in a defensible state, and approved the measure of withdrawing the New Hampshire troops from Medford, where they could not be wanted. The chief cause of Putnam's impatience arose from the *delay*, which was perhaps unavoidable, as these troops were "*destitute of ammunition*,"—a circumstance not known probably, or not fully considered at the time, either by Ward or Putnam. The latter always expressed his conviction, that, when the designs of the enemy became known at Cambridge, Genl. Ward, instead of withholding succours, pressed forward all he could with safety, without hazarding a general battle.)

Putnam returned again to the hill, but the reinforcement had not arrived. By this time the enemy's force was embarked, and making towards Morton's Point, and he ordered the detachment under Knowlton, with some scattering troops not employed at the redoubt, to take post at a rail fence, and extend onward to Mystic River, and make the best preparation in their power for defence.

Calculating, as Genl. Putnam said he had always done, that if the enemy came out with a strong force, he must be ultimately driven from his first position, he was anxious to form a second rallying point,—that from the beginning he had this in view, and expected there might have been time to accomplish it before any serious attack would be made; but the promptitude of the enemy's movements, and the delay of the second detachment, had allowed no time. Still however, he was unwilling wholly to abandon it, and determined if it were yet possible to make some defences on Bunker Hill. Here he was busily employed with such means as were in his power, till the reinforcement arrived, and almost at the same moment, the enemy advanced slowly in columns, and opened a fire from their field artillery. He hastened as soon as possible to place all his disposable

force where he judged it most needed, and was proceeding himself to take a position near the centre of the line when Warren met him.

Alluding to a former conversation, he said, "I am sorry to see you here Genl. Warren,—I wish you had taken my advice and left this day to us, for, from appearances, we shall have a sharp time of it, and since you are here, I am ready to submit myself to your orders." Warren replied,— "I came only as a volunteer,—I know nothing of your dispositions, nor will I interfere with them. Tell me where I can be most useful." Putnam pointed to the redoubt, and, intent on his safety, said,— "You will be covered there." "Don't think," said Warren, "I came here to seek a place of *safety*, but tell me where the onset will be most furious." Putnam pointed again to the redoubt,— "*That*," said he, "is the enemy's object,—Prescott is there, and will do *his* duty, and if it *can* be defended, the day will be ours." Warren left him, and walked quickly towards the redoubt. The rest, alas, is but too well known.

For many reasons I have purposely avoided as much as possible, any allusion to "An Account of the Battle of Bunker Hill," published in 1818. I am now willing to believe it was written under some very great mistake, and that the writer is far more sorry than I *can* be, that he ever touched the subject at all. For, however heart-searching and scorching to my soul that "account" was for a time, I cannot now do otherways than *rejoice* at an occasion which has brought Genl. Putnam out as "gold twice assayed in the furnace," and has also led to a more critical investigation of the history of that battle than had ever before been made,—without which the splendid edifice to be erected in commemoration of it might hardly have been thought of, nor that gratifying spectacle ever been witnessed which, of late, filled so many hearts with gladness.

For other reasons I have withheld a recapitulation of much that I have heard of Genl. Putnam's own doings in

that battle. Late as the time is, many of them have been drawn from some of the few survivors who themselves were witnesses of his deeds,—enough to prove that, difficult and arduous as were his duties on that eventful day, they were fearlessly and faithfully performed.

My chief object in making this communication has been to state facts, which from their nature were accessible *at the time* to but few, and which, if they existed as I have detailed them, make it questionable whether, without the agency of Genl. Putnam, the battle of Bunker Hill would ever have been fought.

I have no other *direct* authority for the truth of such parts of this statement as purport to come from the mouth of Genl. Putnam, than that they were made to me at the time, and often repeated for fifteen years after by him. If they are materially incorrect, he must have related them untruly, or they have been unfairly reported by me. For such as were the result of my own observation, or in which I personally bore a very unimportant part, I can say with confidence, that my recollection of them is believed to be as perfect as almost any event of my life. They have till now been kept back from a reluctance to come forward as a volunteer witness in a case where it must be supposed my feelings are interested;—and I regret they should now form so considerable a part of what I have felt it due to my father's memory to disclose. My only apology for introducing them at all is, that they form a connecting link in the chain of my story and have a collateral bearing on the truth of it.

If, under other circumstances, I could harbour the base thought of giving even to my Father what was justly due to another, equally brave and honourable, I should certainly be restrained in this instance by the long friendship and high respect I entertain for Judge Prescott, from indulging it against his father. I know too well also, how near of kindred *their* souls were, not to dread for such an act of

dishonour the angry frown of Genl. Putnam's spirit, on a son, who, if not a favourite, was always a favoured one. I have no views tending at all to the discredit of Col. Prescott, and those who understand them will believe I say this in truth.

Does it take any thing from the glory of Lafayette, who *stormed* the redoubt at Yorktown, that Washington commanded the army? Or, can it take any thing from perhaps the still greater glory of Prescott, who so nobly *defended* his at Charlestown, that another, who *may* have done less than himself, had the general direction of a battle in which he performed a most important part? I know indeed, the cases are not exactly parallel. The army at Yorktown was a regular army, with a known and acknowledged chief, whose right of command no one ever disputed;—that at Cambridge, almost without order, and quite without the discipline so essential to order. But the main question continues the same. Had not Putnam superior rank to Prescott? and has it not been sufficiently demonstrated that he was in the battle, and from beginning to end exercising all the properties of command? Why then, should there be any disposition manifested to place him somewhere *not* in the foreground of the picture?

There may be, and there probably *is* a local feeling on this subject;—but, (I ask the question with great deference,) is it such a feeling as ought to be indulged in this case? Is it a generous, a magnanimous feeling?—such as that which drew Putnam from the quietness of his farm to breast the horrors of a civil war, with the moral certainty of a “halter” if unsuccessful, unless it should have been his happy lot to find death as Warren found it—bravely contending for the liberties of his country! Finally, is it in accordance with that exalted sentiment of Webster's lofty mind,—“*Let our object be our Country, our whole Country, and nothing but our Country!*”

May HE, “in whose hand our breath is, and whose are

all our ways," incline every heart to the practice of this sound political maxim.

The foregoing statements are now most respectfully submitted to the scrutiny of minds highly discriminating, and I hope they will be judged of, not by preconceived opinions, or under long-indulged prejudices, but by their probability, their consistency, and the general tenour of other information.

With respectful consideration, I have the honor to be
Gentlemen

Your most Obt. and grateful servt.

DANL. PUTNAM.

Brooklyn Conn., August
1825.

THE PUBLIC SEAL OF CONNECTICUT.

BY CHARLES J. HOADLY.

THERE are now no means of ascertaining either at what precise time a public seal for the Colony of Connecticut was adopted, or by whom it was devised. It is certain that there was one in use in 1656; for, March 26th of that year, the General Court ordered that there should be given to Capt. Cullick a copy of the agreement with Mr. Fenwick, relative to the purchase of Saybrook, *sealed with the seal of the Colony.*

After the receipt of the Charter, the first General Assembly, or Court of Election, held under it, at Hartford, October, 1662, ordered that the seal that formerly was used by the General Court should still remain and be used as the seal of this Colony, until the court saw cause to the contrary, and the secretary was to keep it and use it on necessary occasions for the colony.

This seal represents a vineyard, with fifteen vines, supported and bearing fruit; above, a hand, issuing from clouds, holds a label, on which is inscribed the motto SVSTINET QVI TRANSTVLIT. It is slightly oval in form, and has a beaded border. There remain, among the old colonial documents, but three impressions of it, all on wax: one, very poor, upon the commission of sundry persons appointed to treat with Governor Leete, about the union of New Haven with Connecticut, December 28, 1663; the second, also quite poor, attached to the Norwich patent, July, 1686; the third,

not quite perfect, affixed to a document dated April 1, 1687. The edition of the Laws of Connecticut, printed at Cambridge, 1673, had, by order of the General Court, an impression of the Colony seal upon the title-page, from which, compared with and corrected by the last of the three above mentioned, the cut which adorns the published Records of Connecticut was copied.

In October, 1662, the General Assembly laid claim to Westchester, as being within the chartered limits of Connecticut, and sent down a copy of their vote on the subject, certified under the Colony seal, which is thus curiously described by Mr. Richard Mills, who had the document in his custody. "The signal of the seal above is come to the inhabitants of Westchester, absolute, made in red wax; the motto I suppose to be the arborated craggy wilderness and the flying cloudes."*

When Sir Edmund Andros took the government of the Colony, in October, 1687, the public seal disappeared. Mr. Bulkeley, in "Will and Doom," says that "The secretary, who was well acquainted with all the transactions of the General Court, and very well understood their meaning and intent in all, delivered their common seal to Sir Edmund Andros." What became of it afterward, whether it was broken or lost, we know not; at all events, the seal used after the resumption of the charter government, in 1689, differs considerably from the first one,—it was not so well cut, is a trifle larger, the hand bends downward, and the motto is changed to SVSTINET QVI TRASTVLIT.

No further change was made till 1711, when, October 25th, at a meeting of the Governor and Council, it was agreed, ordered, and resolved that a new stamp should be made and cut of the seal of this Colony, suitable for sealing upon wafers, and that a press be provided, with the necessary appurtenances for that purpose, as soon as may be, at

* Bolton's History of Westchester County, ii., 164.

the cost and charge of the Colony, to be kept in the secretary's office.

This seal was considerably larger than its predecessors, measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length by $1\frac{3}{4}$ in breadth; instead of fifteen vines, there are but three, and there is a hand pointing to them, about midway on the left; the motto, which is upon a scroll below the vines, is QVI TRANSTVLIT SVSTINET, and around the circumference is the legend SIGILLVM COLONIE CONNECTICVTENSIS.

Wax seems to have been the material generally used till after the Revolution; the few early impressions upon paper preserved among the colonial documents are all very poor.

From some imperfections in the engraving, which would not be likely to be reproduced, the seal ordered in 1711 seems to have continued in use up to 1784, in May of which year the General Assembly passed the following resolution:—

“Whereas, the circumscription of the seal of this State is improper and inapplicable to our present constitution, Resolved by this Assembly, that the Secretary be and he is hereby empowered and directed to get the same altered from the words as they now stand to the following inscription, namely, SIGILL. REIP. CONNECTICUTENSIS.”

The inscription was, however, cut without abbreviation, though in its shortened form it appears in engravings of that period; and, at the October session, 1784, the new seal was approved and ordered to be lodged with the secretary, to be used as the seal of this State, as the law directs. The size of this seal was $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in length by $1\frac{1}{4}$ in breadth. It was engraved upon silver.

Article fourth, section eighteenth, of the constitution adopted in 1818, declares that the seal of the State shall not be altered; but it is singular that neither in that instrument, nor in any law, is the seal ascertained or described. In 1840 it was resolved “That the Secretary of State be

instructed to ascertain the proper seal and bearings of this State, and report to the next session of the General Assembly; and also whether any legislative enactment is required for a proper description of said seal." Mr. Hinman was at that time secretary; but, as there is little on record relative to the establishment of the seal, and the subject would have required considerable investigation, he made, as he informed the writer, no report at all.

The seal at present in use was procured in accordance with a resolution passed October, 1842, which directed that it should be similar to the one then in use. The resolution, as at first drawn up, provided that the new seal might be of smaller dimensions, and circular instead of oval; but these provisions were struck out in the House of Representatives, probably upon constitutional grounds, and the seal was made of similar form and size with the preceding one, except that it is a trifle broader,—the workmanship also is better; there are three clusters of grapes on each vine, the old one had four on each of the upper, and five on the lower one. It is engraved on brass.

The Colony of New Haven also had a public seal, ordered in May, 1655, the size and device of which was left to the judgment of Governor Eaton. In June, 1656, the governor announced its reception "a token of his love" from his son-in-law, Governor Hopkins. This seal is mentioned but once more in the records. It is not known that any impression of it now exists, and its device is probably one of the things lost on earth.

The armorial bearings of Connecticut, in heraldic language, would be blazoned thus:—Argent, three vines, supported and fructed proper. Without mentioning several fanciful interpretations, the most probable one is that the three vines symbolize the plantations of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield, which composed the original colony of Connecticut. The number of vines upon the old seal was probably arbitrary, and it might be blazoned:—A field

argent, semé with vines, supported and fructed proper: in chief, a hand, issuing from clouds proper, holding a label inscribed with the motto, etc. With beautiful simplicity, the seal of Connecticut bears perpetual witness to the faith of our fathers in His sustaining power, who transplanted the vines from Egypt, who cast out the heathen and planted them, who made room for them, so that, when they had taken root, they filled the land, till the hills were covered with their shadow, and the boughs thereof were like the goodly cedars, till their branches stretched out to the sea and their boughs to the river.

CORRESPONDENCE
OF
CONNECTICUT
WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

[From originals, with few exceptions, in the possession of the Society.]

Secretary Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. May 11th, 1755.]

WHITEHALL, 23d January, 1755.

Gentlemen: A clause having been inserted in the Mutiny Bill, by Parliament this session, enacting that all troops in America, whilst in conjunction with the British forces, under the command of an officer bearing his Majesty's immediate commission, shall be liable to the same Martial Law and Discipline, as the British forces are; I have the King's command to send you, pursuant to my letter of the 31st past, several printed copies of the said Mutiny Bill, together with the Articles of War founded thereupon, for your guidance and direction.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Sir Thomas Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 11th May, 1755.]

WHITEHALL, January 23d, 1755.

Gentlemen: The King being determined that nothing shall be wanting towards the support of his Colonies and

subjects in North America, has commanded me to signify to you his Majesty's intention to augment the regiments in British pay, (vizt. not only Sir Peter Halket's and Colonel Dunbar's, but likewise those which are now employed in Nova Scotia,) to the number of 1000 men each: to which end, you will correspond with Major General Braddock, or the commander of the King's forces for the time being, from whom you will receive directions for the sending such contributions of men as shall be wanting, and to such places where the same shall be quartered or employed under his command.

As there is probably a considerable number of persons, as well among the natives of America as among such foreigners who may be arrived there from different parts, particularly from Germany, who will be capable and willing to bear arms upon this occasion; the King does not doubt but that you will be able by care and diligence to effect this intended augmentation, and to defray the charge of levying the same from the common fund to be established for the benefit of all the Colonies collectively in North America, pursuant to his Majesty's directions signified to you, by my letter of the 26th of October last, for that purpose; and, as an encouragement to all such persons who shall engage in this service, it is the King's intention (which you will assure them in his Majesty's name) that they shall receive arms and cloathing at the King's expence, and that they shall not only be sent back (if desired) to their respective habitations, when the service in America shall be compleated and ended, but shall be entitled, in every respect, to the same advantages with those troops which may be already raised, in consequence of your former orders.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

P. S. I have received your letters of Oct. 26th and 30th. Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Sir Thomas Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Reprinted from Pennsylvania Archives, ii., 291.]

WHITEHALL, 16th April, 1755.

Gentlemen: The King having thought it necessary for his service, to order a squadron of Ships of War to sail forthwith to America, under the command of Vice Admiral Boscawen, I am directed to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that, in case any naval assistance shall be wanted for the protection of your Government, that you should apply for the same to the said Vice Admiral, or to Commodore Keppell, who is already stationed in America, or any other commander in chief, for the time being of his Majesty's ships in those seas, who will send you such assistance as he may be able to do consistently with the general service, and you will regularly communicate to them all such intelligence as shall come to your knowledge, concerning the arrival of any Ships of War, or vessels having warlike stores on board; and likewise, all such advices as may concern their motions and destination, or may, in any manner, relate to that part of his Majesty's service, with which the Commanders of the King's Ships should be acquainted, who are properly instructed, by the King's order, to observe an exact correspondence with you, during their continuance in America. And for the better execution of the orders sent you in this letter, you will be diligent in employing proper persons and vessels, not only to procure the earliest intelligence, but likewise to be dispatched, from time to time, to the said Commander of his Majesty's Ships, with such accounts as you shall have occasion to communicate to them.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

Governor Fitch to Sir Thomas Robinson.

NORWALK, 5th June, 1755.

Sir: According to the tenour of a paragraph of my letter of the 6th of February last, I am now to acquaint you that in obedience to the King's command signified by your letter of the 13th June 1754, which I received on the 16th November, I appointed Jonathan Trumble and Roger Wolcott Junior, Esqrs., two of the Assistants of this Colony, and by advice of Council impowered and directed them to aid and assist to the utmost of their power the Spanish agent in embarking the effects belonging to the Spanish Register ship, the St. Joseph and St. Helena, put into the port of New London by distress in November 1752, and in every respect to exert themselves and use the proper authority of government for a punctual compliance with his Majesty's orders.

That those gentlemen repaired forthwith to New London and afforded all possible assistance in recovering and shipping the said effects, and in doing all such services as they possibly could for the interest of the proprietors of the said ship and cargo, and in the month of December and beginning of January all that could be recovered was embarked on board the ship Nebuchadnezzar, chartered by the merchant some time before for that purpose, as the St. Joseph and St. Helena had been condemned as unfit for the seas.

Capt. Whitwell, commanding his Majesty's ship Triton, carefully attended and in conjunction with those gentlemen assisted in that service, and then took the ship Nebuchadnezzar under convoy for Cadiz, where I hear she is since safe arrived.

As this affair has been the occasion of some reflections upon as well as complaints against this Government, which I apprehend are without foundation, I beg leave to give a brief account of the case.

When the ship first arrived into the port of New London

my predecessor, Governor Wolcott, forthwith made strict enquiry into the cause of her coming in, and finding it was not to carry on an illicit trade, but that by distress she put into port, ordered all the effects to be delivered to the agent, paying just cost and reasonable allowances for salvage, and offered him all necessary protection and assistance, and had he taken the advice given and accepted the assistance provided and offered, he might have sailed in a few weeks with all his cargo except what the court of vice-admiralty decreed against him for salvage and some other necessary expences; that decree indeed was esteemed here to be very extraordinary. The proceedings and decree of that court, and ill advisers from abroad, which the government could neither prevent nor are chargeable with, I apprehend created jealousies in the Spanish agent's mind which he more easily entertained for want of understanding the English language; soon after this he valued himself on Mr. Henry Lane, of New York, merchant, with one Mr. Cuyler of the same place, and gave to Mr. Lane a letter of attorney contrary to the governor's advice. This Mr. Lane (since broke,) transacted his affairs, assisted in procuring the ship *Nebuchadnezzar* and began to load her about two years ago, and shipped several chests of money and sundry other effects, when suddenly there arose a controversy between the Spanish agent and his attorney Mr. Lane, who thereupon took and carried off privately four chests of silver, and from that time left the merchant's service, part of the effects being on board and part in stores: the agent declined acting or taking any further care, and disputed with the collector the legality of the delivery to Mr. Lane, the collector justified it; so matters lay in that unsettled situation till the money ship was stolen, the master soon after left the ship and the hands either absconded or were concerned in the iniquity, and as the merchant wholly declined to take care of what was left, or to enquire after the embezzlements or to pay for any service of that kind, the authority of the

government tho't it their duty to interpose, and in fact took more care than could have been reasonably expected in favour of any of the King's subjects ; and accordingly long before the receipt of your letter prosecutions were had in the King's name at the publick expence, managed by the King's attorney for that county, against many persons who were imprisoned, tried and convicted for stealing some of the monies and effects, and all that could be recovered was secured and shipt with the cargo, without deductions for recovery, and that tho' the Spanish agent was on the spot, did not concern himself as a prosecutor, neither was he at the expence of it, neither would he so much as receive the effects recovered, but the same were by order of authority safely secured for him. I might further observe in general that all measures concerted by the governor for the service of the merchant in the course of these transactions, wherein he was treated with great kindness and candour, were constantly frustrated by his conduct, which I would charitably ascribe to his bad councillors, and as this affair laboured and continued under these unhappy circumstances I gladly embraced the opportunity his Majesty was graciously pleased to favour us with by Capt. Whitwell, commanding the ship Triton, and gratefully acknowledge the King's royal care which hath been the means of delivering us from those burdens, the kind assistance of that worthy commander, in conjunction with the gentlemen I appointed, must also be acknowledged, who I doubt not will be able to represent the matters in favour of the government. In the conclusion, the Spanish agent manifested himself well satisfied with the government, acknowledged the care and conduct of the authority in his favour, and freely declared he had no demands against the government, as in truth he could have none.

This whole affair might be set forth in a more particular and stronger light in favour of the Colony and supported by good evidence, but I fear I have encroached on your

patience, therefore beg pardon for this trouble, and have only to add that as the government hath been much concerned that right should be done to the subjects of the crown of Spain, and as nothing as we conceive has been wanting for that purpose, so nothing in our power shall be wanting in duty to his Majesty to see all imaginable justice be further done to the proprietors of the said effects.

I am, Sir, with the greatest esteem

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

Right Honourable Sir Thomas Robinson.

Sir Thomas Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 6th 7ber, 1755.]

WHITEHALL, 19th June, 1755.

Gentlemen: Having received no letters from you since my last of the 16th April, I have only to acquaint you that it is the express command of the Lords Justices that you should not draw bills upon the Pay Master General or his deputy, or upon any other person, and that you should not issue any warrants for money, for the discharge of such expences, as have been or may be incurred on account of the services or operations to be performed by you, or in any respect under your direction in North America; But the Lords Justices are pleased to direct, that upon all such occasions you shall apply for such sums of money as shall so become necessary, and are not properly chargeable to the account of your Government, to Major General Braddock, or to the commander in chief of his Majesty's forces for the time being, in North America.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

Govr. and Company of Connecticut.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 11th Nov., 1755.]

WHITEHALL, July 15th, 1755.

Gentlemen: It being for his Majesty's service that the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations should be fully informed of the present state and condition of all his Majesty's Colonies in America; I am directed by their Lordships to send you the enclosed Heads of Enquiry, and to desire you will forthwith transmit very full and particular answers thereto, and also a collection of the Laws which have from time to time been passed and are now in force within the Colony under your government.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN POWNALL, Secry.

Gov. and Comp. of Connecticut.

Secretary Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 8th Novr., 1755.]

WHITEHALL, 26th July, 1755.

Gentlemen: There being great reason to apprehend that it may be the intention of the Crown of France to proceed to an open rupture, as Mor. de Mirepoix left England on Monday night last, without taking leave, and in consequence thereof Mr. De Cosne, the English Secretary at Paris, is ordered to leave the Court of France in like manner; I cannot be too early in acquainting you therewith, and recommending it to you to take all proper measures for the safety and tranquility of your Government, and to give immediate notice thereof, in such manner that all his Majesty's subjects within your Government may (as far as possible) be enabled to proceed with the necessary care and circumspection in the present con-

junction, and may be upon their guard against any mischief that may be apprehended under these circumstances, to their navigation and commerce.

You will likewise be extremely diligent in transmitting to me, for the King's information, and that of the Lords Justices, every material circumstance or intelligence, that may come to your knowledge, concerning the motions and proceedings of the French at this time.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

Govr. and Company of Connecticut.

Governor Filch to Sir Thomas Robinson.

NORWALK, 1st August, 1755.

Sir: Your letters of the 31st December, 23d January, with the duplicate, printed copies of the Mutiny Act and Articles of War, and your letter of the 16th April, I have received, and beg leave to acquaint you that as the Colony have a most grateful sense of his Majesty's tender regard for his British Colonies and the welfare and security of his subjects in North America, which he has had the goodness by your repeated letters to signify to us, so the Colony, from their strong attachment to and zeal for his Majesty's sacred person and government, have endeavoured in every particular to exert themselves for the defence of his Majesty's just rights and dominions against and for removing the encroachments of the French in these parts: the government not only encouraged raising men to fill up the King's regiments under the respective commands of Governor Shirley and Sir William Pepperell, in pursuance of his Majesty's pleasure signified by your letter of the 28th October last, and the regiments employed at Nova Scotia, but also, being greatly spirited and engaged in repelling the

common danger, this Colony, in conjunction with the Governments of the Massachusetts Bay, New York, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, undertook to raise better than four thousand men for the defence and protection of his Majesty's territories at Crown Point and on the Iroquois Lake, and for removing the encroachments made there. For this service this government hath raised one thousand effective men, officers included, armed and provided for them, and subsist them in the service wherein they are now employed: the Assembly have also made provision for raising five hundred more to strengthen that expedition, if there shall appear a necessity of it, which I expect will be the case, and the men will soon be raised.

I beg leave here to observe that I conceive this Colony herein have advanced beyond an equal and just proportion, tho' I do not mention this to lessen the service of the other governments or any of them, all of which appear well spirited and engaged on this occasion, but rather to shew that his Majesty's regard for the welfare and security of his subjects in these parts, which he has been graciously pleased to give us such proofs of, and our zeal to promote his service therein, hath excited a spirit of emulation in the people here to excel in the service of their King and country.

I beg leave further to acquaint you that having the success of this enterprize so much at heart, and fearing the Government of New York might fail raising the number proposed for them to raise, which was but eight hundred, this government upon application from that permitted three hundred men to be raised in this Colony on the pay and encouragement of that for this service.

All these levies have drawn from us near two thousand of our inhabitants, (beside the five hundred not yet raised,) to the detriment of our husbandry, whereon the Colony hath its principal dependence.

The Colony, tho' before considerably in debt, failed not to undertake with vigour and resolution to perform these

services, and are now greatly spirited in the affair, by which means we have been under necessity to make use of the credit of the government, and thereby a heavy burden of debt is brought and likely to be increased upon the inhabitants, and what adds to our difficulties in these services is the want of a supply of good arms, there being no public store of that kind in the Colony, and those which belong to private persons mostly poor and unsized, and unfit for an expedition, and such difficult to be obtained for the use of such as, tho' able bodied effective men, are unprovided and unable to provide for themselves. The Government therefore have thought proper under their difficult circumstances, and that they may be better able to serve his Majesty on such emergencies, to make their humble petition to his Majesty for his royal favour in granting us relief in this particular, and accordingly by their desire I have inclosed their Address, which I beg leave to request you to lay before the King and to allow us to hope for your kind offices in rendering it acceptable and effectual: you will be pleased to consider this Colony has never been expensive to the crown, but hath at its own expence defended itself and largely contributed to the defence of the neighbouring governments for more than a century past, and the last year were at considerable expence in garrisoning and defending some of the frontier towns of the Massachusetts, and the same service we still continue. We humbly hope our services will be graciously accepted by his Majesty, and, as I persuade myself the officers and soldiers who are or shall be engaged in these services will behave with honour, so I would beg leave most humbly to recommend them to his Majesty's favour.

I am, Sir, with the most profound respect and esteem,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honourable Sir Thomas Robinson, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State.

Colonial Address to the King, August 1, 1755.

The humble Address of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, in New England, in America.

To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Governor and Company of your Colony of Connecticut, beg leave thankfully to acknowledge your goodness in taking into your royal consideration the state of affairs in North America, and in ordering such vigorous and effectual measures for the defence of your just rights and dominions. Nothing can more clearly demonstrate your Majesty's paternal concern and regard for the security and welfare of your American Colonies than your benevolent disposition for the good of your subjects in these parts and your firm resolution to maintain your just rights against the encroachments of the French, and we beg leave to assure your Majesty that as we have chearfully exerted ourselves in a punctual obedience to your commands signified to your several Governments on this occasion, so we, spirited with principles of loyalty and obedience, shall do all in our power for maintaining the honour, rights and possessions of your crown, and for the interest and security of your dominions in these parts, according as it shall be your royal pleasure to direct.

This Colony, tho' small, being warmed with zeal for your Majesty's service and spirited to contribute to the utmost of their ability in repelling the common danger, have on their own pay and subsistence raised one thousand men, including officers, who are to be augmented to 1500 if there be necessity of it, for dislodging the French from those parts of your Majesty's territories at and near Crown Point.

A spirit of true loyalty and strong attachment to your Majesty, and of emulation to excel in the service of our

King and country is universal in the Colony: but, may it please your Majesty, the low state of the government, involved in debt arisen by those means, the want of a proper supply of good arms, those among us being unsized and few in number, and the Colony unable at present to purchase a sufficiency for our soldiery, render it difficult to perform that service they are zealous for; that we may be able therefore more effectually as well as speedily to exert ourselves on any emergency for the defence of the country, duty to your Majesty and zeal for your service constrain us to make our humble address to our most gracious Sovereign for relief in this particular: and will your Majesty be pleased to permit us humbly to request your Majesty to grant to this Colony such a supply of arms as in your royal bounty and wisdom you shall think proper to bestow, that we may be capacitated to act up to that spirit which prompts your subjects in this Colony to exert themselves in your service beyond their present ability.

May your forces be victorious, and all attempts and designs formed against your Majesty and your kingdoms and dominions be defeated.

We are, may it please your Majesty,

Your Majesty's most faithful, loyal and obedient subjects,

The Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut,

THOS. FITCH, Govr.

Connecticut,

1st August, 1755.

Secretary Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 6th Novr., 1755.]

WHITEHALL, 28th August, 1755.

Gentlemen: The Lords Justices having thought it necessary to appoint without loss of time a Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America, in the room of the late Major General Braddock, who was killed

in the unfortunate affair of the 9th of last month on the Mononghela; I am to acquaint you, that Major General Shirley is ordered to take upon him, till his Majesty's farther pleasure shall be signified, that command, with like powers with which Major General Braddock held the same, and as Mr. Shirley is furnished with copies of every order, letter and instruction, that has been sent from hence, at any time, to, or received from his predecessor, you may correspond with him, and apply to him upon every occasion, and upon all points, in such manner as you was empowered to do to Major General Braddock, and you will not only regularly observe such directions as you shall receive from him thereupon, but will also transmit to him forthwith copies of your whole correspondence with the late Major General Braddock, since his first arrival in North America.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

P. S. I have received Gov. Fitch's letter of the 5th of June.

T. R.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 25th Novr., 1755.]

WHITEHALL, Sept. 19, 1755.

Gentlemen: It being of the greatest importance that his Majesty should in the present situation of affairs be truly and exactly informed of the real state of defence of all his Colonies in America, as well in relation to the ordnance and stores of war which are in each Colony respectively as to the forts and fortifications, and the number of their inhabitants; I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to desire you will with all possible dispatch prepare and transmit to their Lordships, to

be laid before his Majesty, an exact and particular account thereof with respect to the Colony under your Government, in which you are to express the present actual state and quantity of the cannon, small arms, ammunition and other ordnance and military stores belonging to the said Colony, either in the publick magazines or in the possession of the militia or other private persons, together with the true state of all places either already fortified or which you judge further necessary to be fortified, with your opinion at large in what manner his Majesty may further contribute to the security and defence of the said Colony, and also as exact an account as you can obtain of the real number of inhabitants, whites and blacks; how many of the former are able to bear arms; of what number the militia is composed, and how armed mustered and trained.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN POWNALL, Secry.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Address of the Colony to the King, October, 1755.

To the King's most excellent Majesty in Council.

The humble Memorial and Petition of the Governor and Company of his Majesty's English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

We your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Governor and Company of your Colony of Connecticut, ask leave most thankfully to acknowledge the many instances of your royal concern and regard for the welfare and security of your American dominions, and to express our grateful sense of your firm resolution to maintain and defend your undoubted rights against the injurious encroachments of

the French upon your British dominions in North America, and humbly ask liberty to represent that this your Majesty's Colony greatly concerned at such encroachments, and especially sensible of the great detriment which has been occasioned to your Majesty's interest by the fortress, called *Fort St. Frederick*, erected by the French at Crown Point on the Iroquois Lake, and the repeated annoyances these Colonies have suffered by means thereof, from the French and their Indians, most cheerfully came into a resolution, in conjunction with the other New England Governments and New York, to raise a body of forces to remove this encroachment, to repel these invaders of your Majesty's rights, and secure that important pass to the British crown,—that as your Provincial forces were proceeding on this enterprise, the French at Canada, (having gained intelligence of their motions,) sent against them a large and well appointed number of troops, consisting of Regulars from France, Canadians, and Indians of diverse nations, under the command of the Baron Dieskeau, who came and fell on your forces near the south end of the Lake St. Sacrament, now called Lake George, on which a very warm fight happened, wherein many of the officers, and a great number of the enemies' soldiers were slain, their general taken, and a happy victory obtained. And we humbly take leave to congratulate your Majesty on this happy success against an enemy who boldly advanced into your Majesty's territories.

We further humbly beg leave to observe to your Majesty, that the proceedings of our enemies, consisting of troops from France as well as Canada, occasioned a necessity of large reinforcements, and the zeal and ardour of your loyal subjects of this Colony for your service prompted us to augment our troops to three thousand in our actual pay and subsistence, hoping by a forcible and resolute exertion of ourselves to obtain the desired success, but such hath been the hindrances that have fallen in our way, and our

strength so far exhausted that we are unable to proceed without your Majesty's gracious interposition.

We therefore most humbly pray your Majesty to grant your most gracious favour and regard to us, and smile on our undertaking for the security of your Majesty's interest, and that provision be made for prosecuting such measures as may be found needful to carry into execution the design to secure that important pass to the British crown. And for your most excellent Majesty your Petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

In the name and behalf of the Governor and Company
of the Colony of Connecticut,

THOS. FITCH, Govr.

Genl. Assembly, Octr. 1755.

In the Upper House, The foregoing draft for an address to be presented to the King's Majesty is approved at this Board.

Test. GEORGE WYLLYS, Secret.

In the Lower House.

The foregoing draft for an address etc. read and approved.

Test. JNO. FOWLER, Clerk.

Secretary Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

WHITEHALL, Novr. 3d, 1755.

Gentlemen: You will find, by the inclosed memorial that has been delivered to me, by Mons. d'Abreu, the Spanish Minister, that the proprietors of the Ship St. Joseph and Sta. Helena complain, that very near the whole of their money, and part of their effects, are still detained within your Government, which it was thought would not have been the case, after you had acquainted me in your letter of the 5th of June last, *that nothing in your power should be wanting to see all imaginable justice farther done to the said proprietors.*

The King's intention that the most entire restitution should be made to the Spanish owners of the said ship and cargo, was so fully expressed in my letter to you of the 13th of June 1754, and his Majesty's orders were so positive, that you should use your utmost endeavours, *to put the Spanish agent into the immediate possession of every part of the said cargo*, that the King did not expect that it would have become necessary, at this time, that another of his Majesty's Ships of War should be employed upon this account. But that nothing may be wanting to compleat the satisfaction due to the Spaniards for the forcible detention and embezzlement of their property, his Majesty has now thought proper to direct another Ship of War to repair to New London, in order to take on board the remainder of the Spanish effects, for which purpose I am to repeat to you the King's express commands, that you should exert yourself in putting an end to this affair, in a manner that shall be agreeable to the just expectation of the Court of Spain.

I am, etc.,

T. ROBINSON.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 4th Feby., 1756.]

WHITEHALL, Nov. 4th, 1755.

Gentlemen: The Postmaster General having in obedience to his Majesty's commands, provided vessels for the carrying on a regular monthly correspondence with his Majesty's American Colonies, I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to acquaint you therewith, and that the first of these vessels will be dispatched for the Continent on the 15th of this month, to go and return between Falmouth and New York, where the first vessel is to remain twenty days; and as it is of great importance to his Majesty's service, that their Lordships

should have frequent and certain intelligence of the true state of all his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, their Lordships desire that you will not fail of acquainting them by the return of every packet with all publick occurrences which may happen in the Province under your Government, and likewise transmit to their Lordships all such publick papers as are required to be transmitted.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

JOHN POWNALL, Secry.

Gov. and Company of
Connecticut.

Sir Thomas Robinson to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 4th Feby., 1756.]

WHITEHALL, Nov. 11th, 1755.

Gentlemen: The accounts which have been transmitted to me of the success of his Majesty's arms, in the action near Lake George, on the 8th of Sept.; and of the considerable reinforcements sent by the New England Governments to General Johnson, which there is great reason to hope will effectually enable him to pursue the advantage he has gained, and to recover and support his Majesty's just rights, have been laid before his Majesty; and I have received the King's commands to express to you his Majesty's sense of the great zeal and spirit which the Colony under your Government has so strongly manifested, in so chearfully and effectually promoting this necessary and important service.

His Majesty, at all times desirous of showing marks of his royal favor and regard, to those who eminently distinguish themselves in the defence of his rights, and in their country's service, is pleased to order that this letter be communicated to the Council and Assembly of your Gov-

ernment, and that they be acquainted that his Majesty will take an early opportunity of laying the particulars of their meritorious conduct upon this great occasion, before his Parliament; and as his Majesty is sensible that the expences which the New England Colonies have incurred, tho' chearfully born, cannot but have been burthensome to his brave and good subjects, his Majesty will at the same time recommend to his Parliament to grant them such assistance, in consideration of the charges they have born, as their circumstances shall require, and as will enable them vigorously to pursue the great and necessary work, which has been so chearfully undertaken, and hitherto conducted with so much spirit, zeal and resolution.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

T. ROBINSON.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Sir Thomas Robinson to Governor Fitch.

[Endorsed, Recd. 4th Feby., 1756.]

WHITEHALL, 11th Novr., 1755.

Sir: Having laid before the King the humble Address transmitted in your letter of the 1st of August, expressing the acknowledgements of the Colony of Connecticut for his Majesty's royal goodness and care of his subjects in North America, and their zeal and intention to repel the common danger, *if a proper supply of good arms could be furnished them from hence*; I am now to acquaint you that his Majesty has been pleased to order ten thousand stands of arms, with the proper accoutrements, and a sufficient quantity of ammunition, to be sent forthwith to Boston, under the care of a Store Keeper, and other proper officers, who are to deliver the same to such persons as the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America

shall think fit; and you will apply to him accordingly upon all proper occasions.

I am, Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
Mr. Fitch. T. ROBINSON.

Secretary Fox to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Reprinted from Pennsylvania Archives, II., 490.]

WHITEHALL, 14th Novr., 1755.

Gentlemen: His Majesty having been graciously pleased on the resignation of Sir Thos. Robinson, to honor me with the office of his Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department; I am to desire that you will for the future address your letters to me, which you may be assured I shall punctually and regularly lay before the King, and transmit to you such Instructions and Orders as his Majesty may think proper to give for your guidance and direction.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant, H. FOX.

Secretary Fox to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Reed. 15th June, 1756.]

WHITEHALL, 13th March, 1756.

Gentlemen: The Earl of Loudoun, whom the King has appointed Commander in Chief of all his forces whatsoever in North America, being preparing to set out, with all possible expedition, together with two regiments of foot, a train of artillery, and a sufficient quantity of warlike stores, which his Majesty has been pleased to order for the publick service in those parts, I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should be ready to give his Lordship and the troops from England, all the assistance in your power, on their arrival in America, agreeable to the orders sent you in Sir Thos. Robinson's letter of 26th Octr. 1754, and you will correspond

with, and apply to the Earl of Loudoun on all occasions, in the same manner as you were directed to do with the late General Braddock and Major General Shirley.

It being of the greatest importance that the King's regiments already in North America (as well the three stationed in Nova Scotia, as the four in the Province of New York) should be recruited as soon as possible, to their full complement of 1,000 men each, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should forthwith call together the Council and Assembly of the Province under your Government, and that you should press them, in the strongest manner, to make the most early and effectual provision for raising, and assisting his Majesty's officers to raise, such a number of men as shall be sufficient to recruit the King's regiments now stationed, or to be stationed in North America, up to their establishments, and you will acquaint them, that the King, in order to encourage his faithful subjects to engage in a service so essential for their own defence and preservation, does consent, that such recruits shall not be obliged to serve any where but in North America;—that they shall be discharged when hostilities shall cease; and that each of them shall have a grant of 200 acres of land, free from the payment of quit-rents, for ten years, either in the province of New York, New Hampshire, or Nova Scotia, at their own choice, which lands shall be granted them, on producing their discharge from the Commander in Chief to the Governor of either of the said Provinces respectively; and, in case they should be killed in the service, their widows and children shall be entitled to the said lands, in such proportion as the Governor and Council of the Province wherein such lands lie, shall direct.

You will acquaint the Council and Assembly with his Majesty's great goodness in having recommended their case to the consideration of his Parliament, who have granted the sum of £115,000, to be distributed in such proportions as the King shall think proper, to the four

Provinces of New England, and those of New York and New Jersey, and thereby enabled his Majesty not only to manifest his sense of their past services, but also to encourage them for the future to exert themselves in the service with spirit and vigour; that his Majesty therefore expects that they will heartily and zealously concur in every measure, which shall be thought advisable for carrying on the war in North America, and that they will forthwith raise the same number of men, in each Colony, as were raised last year (whereof as great a proportion as may be to consist of rangers) to act in conjunction with the King's troops in such operations as shall be undertaken for annoying the enemy and recovering his Majesty's just rights. This service will be the less burthensome to them, as the raising of the men, their pay, arms, and cloathing, will be all that will be required of them, measures having been already taken for laying up magazines of stores and provisions of all kinds, at the sole expence of the Crown; and you will use your utmost endeavours to induce the Council and Assembly to give the necessary orders for raising their quota of these men, with the greatest expedition, so that they may be ready to march to such place as the Commander in Chief shall, upon his arrival, direct.

It is also his Majesty's pleasure, that you should particularly recommend it to your Assembly to make provision out of such funds as already exist, or may hereafter be raised, for the King's service, for repaying the masters of such indented servants as shall engage in his Majesty's service, the money paid by the said masters upon the original contract, in proportion to the time such indented servants have to serve; and you will, at all times, discourage the harbouring, concealing, or assisting, such as shall desert the service, and also use all means for discovering and apprehending such deserters; You will likewise use your best endeavours to prevail on your Assembly to

appropriate such part of the funds now raised, or which shall be raised for the publick service, to be issued and applied to the general service, in such manner as the Commander in Chief shall direct.

The King would have you recommend it in the strongest manner to your Council and Assembly, to pass effectual laws for prohibiting all trade and commerce with the French, and for preventing the exportation of provisions of all kinds to any of their Islands or Colonies.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant, H. Fox.
Governor and Company of Connecticut.

Secretary Fox to the Governor of Connecticut.

WHITEHALL, March 13th, 1756.

Gentlemen: I have acquainted you in my other letter of this date, with the King's having appointed the Earl of Loudoun to be Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America, but as it will be some time before his Lordship or Major General Abercrombie, who is to be the next in command to him, can set out from hence, the King has directed Colonel Webb, (who will forward this letter to you,) to embark immediately for North America, and to take upon him the command of the forces there, till the arrival of Lord Loudoun or Major General Abercrombie; you will therefore correspond with Colonel Webb; and give him all necessary lights and assistances, in the same manner you were directed to do to the late General Braddock.

It having been represented that a considerable number of the foreign settlers in America might be more willing to enter into the King's service, if they were commanded by officers of their own country, an Act of Parliament has been passed, of which I send you inclosed a printed copy, enabling his Majesty to grant commissions to a certain

number of German, Swiss, and Dutch protestants, who have served as officers or engineers, and as they have already engaged, they will embark with all expedition, in order to assist in raising and commanding such of the foreign protestants in North America as shall be able and willing to serve with the rest of the forces upon this occasion. And it is the King's pleasure, that you should give any of the said officers, who may come into your Government, all the assistance in your power, in the execution of this service.

It being of the greatest importance that his Majesty should in the present situation of affairs, be truly and exactly informed of the real state of defence of all his Colonies in America, as well in relation to the ordnance and stores of war which are in each Colony respectively, as to the forts and fortifications and the number of their inhabitants, it is the King's pleasure, that you should prepare and transmit to the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces for the time being, an exact and particular account thereof with respect to the Colony under your Government, in which you are to express the present actual state and quantity of the cannon, small arms, ammunition and other ordnance and military stores, belonging to the said Colony, either in the publick magazines, or in the possession of the militia or other private persons, together with the true state of all places, either already fortified, or which you judge forthwith necessary to be fortified, with your opinion at large in what manner his Majesty may farther contribute to the security and defence of the said Colony, and also, as exact an account as you can obtain of what number the militia is composed, and how armed, mustered and trained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

H. Fox.

P. S. Mr. Fitch's letter of Oct. 30th has been received.
Governor and Company of Connecticut.

Governor Fitch to the Lords of Trade.

HARTFORD, 30th March, 1756.

My Lords: Your secretary Mr. Pownall's letter of the 19th of Sept. last [we] have received, requiring us to transmit to your Lordships to be laid before his Majesty an exact and particular account of the present state and quantity of the cannon, small arms, ammunition etc., and with hearts full of gratitude to the King's most excellent Majesty for his royal and paternal care of us his loyal subjects inhabitants of this Colony, and in obedience to your Lordships' request, beg leave to inform,—

That our Battery at New London, on a survey thereof lately taken, is found to consist of nine guns, three of which are unfit for service.

That there are also three more useless pieces at the entrance of the port.

That there are also at New London 22 carriage guns, 6 and 4 pounders, and 12 swivels carried during the last war by a sloop then built by this colony for our defence, which are still fit for use.

That remaining in said Battery's stores are found 10 barrels of powder, a small quantity of cannon and musket ball, crossbar, langrell, and grape shot, 100 muskets and as many pistols, with other articles then belonging to said sloop of war.

That there is also a small magazine of powder and ball kept at Hartford for the Colony's use, under the direction of the Governor and Council, tho' at present by the late expedition much exhausted.

That by the laws of the Colony is to be kept in each of our towns 50 lb. of powder, 200 lb. of bullets, and 300 flints, to 60 enlisted soldiers, and a store in such proportion to a greater or lesser number.

That not only every inlisted soldier, but all others by law exempted from duty are to keep and hold themselves

continually furnished with one gun and sword or cutlass, 1 lb. of powder, 4 lb. of bullets and one doz. of flints, which all are obliged on the first Monday of May annually to produce throughout the Colony, to be viewed by their respective officers: but these arms being all of private property are very various in their sorts and sizes, according to the different occasions and humours of their owners, and accordingly not at all adapted to the business of a campaign. And,

As your Lordships have condescended to ask our opinion by what means his Majesty of his royal goodness may further contribute to the defence and security of this Colony, we thereupon observe,

That at New London is a fine, spacious and commodious harbour, with a good entrance for large ships, the usual residence of the Collector of his Majesty's customs, the only port in this Colony much exposed to the enemy, and capable of being made the most defensible, and are humbly of opinion that a strong fortress there erected would not only greatly contribute to the safety and protection of the inhabitants of this Colony (great part of whose shipping is often collected together in said harbour,) but serve more extensively to promote his Majesty's interest in the more effectual defence even of the neighbouring Provinces, and without which we may be an easy prey to any invader.

That as the French king in support of his unjust encroachments has of late sent some of his regular troops to America, we are further humbly of opinion that if in time of war one regiment should be found, armed and subsisted in this Colony, upon the pay and establishment of Great Britain, under such regulations as to become skilful in the regular discipline, and acquainted as well with the European arts of war as the more irregular manner of fighting used in America, we humbly conceive it would be found a more effectual and a less expensive expedient for curbing, restraining and removing, the insolent encroachments of his

Majesty's enemies in North America, than the transportation of troops from Great Britain. And,

In assurance of your Lordships' zeal for his Majesty's interest and real concern for the good and safety of his plantations here, we beg your favourable representation of our case to the best of Kings, that of his Majesty's royal bounty such works may be erected at our said principal port, and such sufficient quantity of ordnance and other military stores may be graciously granted us as our defenceless state and circumstances manifestly require.

We are the more encouraged to hope, not only your Lordships' condescending friendly interposul, but the favourable acceptance of our most gracious Sovereign, flattering ourselves we shall not be found to have been heretofore burdensome by our importunities, tho' as needy and as loyal as the rest of our fellow subjects.

We are, My Lords, your Lordships' most humble and most obedient servants, the Govr. and Company of the Colony of Connecticut.

T. F., Gov.

The Right Honourable the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

General Assembly, (by adjournment,) March, 1756.

In the Upper House, The foregoing draft for a letter from the Gov. and Comp. of this Colony to the Right Honble. the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations is approved, and his Honr. the Gov. is desired to transmit a transcript of the same to their Lordships by the first convenient opportunity.

Test. GEORGE WYLLYS, Secret.

In the Lower House.

The foregoing draft etc. read, and concurred with the vote of the Honble. Upper House in approving of the same etc.

Test. JNO. FOWLER, Clerk.

John Thomlinson and John Hanbury to Governor Fitch.

Endorsed, Received 27th July, 1756.

LONDON, 5th April, 1756.

Sir: The Lords of his Majesty's Treasure having thought proper to issue to us as agent to the Government the 12th March past the sum of £115.000, granted by Parliament to be distributed in such proportions as his Majesty should think fit to the Colonies of New England, New York, and New Jersey, as a free gift and reward for their past services and an encouragement to them to continue to exert themselves with vigour in defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions, with orders to remit the same in specie, we have on our parts used our utmost endeavours to procure Spanish milled dollars on the most reasonable terms, and have succeeded beyond our expectation.

There being no pistoles to be had, we have procured at a small expence all the Portugal gold of full weight, a very large sum having been pick'd and each piece weighed separately, which was a work of many days for several hands, that we think they well deserved the allowance made them, and indeed we are still under some difficulty to get rid of the light pieces we have remaining on hand.

On this occasion we have lessened the charges every possible way and have had no small difficulty in procuring the insurance on so reasonable terms, as all the public offices insisted strongly on three guineas and a half per cent.—Out of the great regard we have to the Colonies we have charged no commission on this transaction, and have recommended it to our agent to act in the like manner.

The reserve of £31 8s. 3d. made out of the £26.000 apportioned to your Province must be subject to a future settlement, as we could not possibly be informed of the charges of passing the account at the Exchequer, otherwise we had now exactly ballanced it;—we pray you will notwithstanding execute the receipt for the full sum, in the form now sent to our agents, Charles Apthorpe Esqr. & Son.

We sincerely wish you success in all your undertakings, and are with great regard, your most assured friends and most obedt. humble servants.

J. HANBURY,

For John Thomlinson Esqr. BARLOW TRECOTHICK.

The Honble. the Govr. of Connecticut.

Copy. The original and Bill of Lading is sent with the specie per the Sterling Castle, Man of War.

LONDON, 3d of April, 1756.

Messrs. John Thomlinson and John Hanbury,

Dr. to How & Masterman, for cost of sundry parcels of Silver and Gold, vizt.—

Pack'd in 23 chests mark'd Confectie': No. 1 to 23 inclusive.	Spanish Mill'd pieces of $\frac{1}{4}$ bought of sundry persons and at different prices, but the whole reduced to an average,	23.000 oz. at 5s. 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. £6,104 17s. 8d.
18 Bags £1,000 each. 1 do. £723 12s. 5d.	10.392 pieces of Portugal coin'd gold, each piece weighed separately at least 9 dwt. 5 gr. at the current value of 36s. apiece	£18,705 12 0
Pack'd in chests mark'd Confectie': No. A and B.	Eighteen pounds and five pence more in gold, silver and copper coin to compleat the proportion order'd per Messrs. Thomlinson and Hanbury for this province,	18 0 5
		£24,828 10 1

For our Commission on procuring the silver, examining and weighing it and the gold (each piece of gold having been weigh'd by us separately) and packing the whole at 8 pr. ct. } 31 0 6

25 strong iron bound chests at 2s. 6d. each	3	2	6	
Porterage, cartage, old and new bags, tape and sealing wax, &c.	1	14	0	
				35 17 0
				<hr/>
				£24,864 7 1
Charges paid by J. Thomlinson and J. Hanbury, vizt.—Paid as pr. accot. of general charges here- with for fees at the Exchequer and Treasury, for Insurance, Freight, and other expences on the whole £115,000 issued to us, £4859 16s. 8d. of which the proportion of this Colony is $\frac{1}{11}$ ths, being				1,098 15 0
Hire of six wagons to carry 249 chests of treasure to Portsmouth £54 12s., being 4s. 4½d. pr. chest—25 chests amt. to				5 9 8
				<hr/>
				£25,968 11 9
Remains in hand towards your proportion of pass- ing the accot. when proper receipts are returned from America, for which we [are] accountable to the Colony of Connecticut				31 8 3
				<hr/>
				£26,000 0 0

London, 5th April, 1756.

Errors excepted

J. HANBURY,

For John Thomlinson BARLOW TRECOTHICK.

This day personally appeared before me, John Hanbury of London, merchant, who did solemnly affirm, that the within account of gold and silver bought and expences paid thereon to the amount of £25,968 11s. 9d., out of £26,000 put into his hands jointly with John Thomlinson of London, merchant, to send to the Colony of Connecticut is just and true, and that he hath not for himself or any person for him received or is to receive any profit or advantage whatsoever by this transaction.

J. HANBURY.

Affirmed the 5th day of May 1756 before me,

S. BETHELL, *Muyor*.

At the same time appeared before me Barlow Trecothick of London, merchant, and made oath that John Thomlinson having been

for some time past confined by sickness, he hath acted in the above mentioned affair on his behalf; that the said account is just and true, and that he hath not for himself or for the said John Thomson or any person for either of them directly or indirectly received or is to receive any profit or advantage whatsoever by this transaction.

BARLOW TRECOTHICK.

Sworn the 5th day of May 1756, before me

S. BETHELL, *Mayor*.

An account of general charges paid on £115,000 received out of the Exchequer, 12 March 1756, to be remitted to North America.

Pd. fees at the Exchequer to the Auditor, Pet. office and Tellers on £115,000, at 1½d. p. £, and more 14s. for sign manual and warrant,	719	9
At the Treasury for sign manual, warrants, and order for the above money and for writing the bond,	9	5 6
Willm. Tatcham's expences and charges, who conducted the money to Portsmouth,	12	5 2
To the guard with the money to Portsmouth,	37	1
To the Serjeant of the guard for his trouble and extra care,	1	1
	<hr/> 50 7 2	
Paid premium £30,000 Insurance at the Royal Exchange at 2½ guineas p. cent., and policy,	787	14 6
Deduct discot. at 5 p. cent.,	37	10
	<hr/> 750 4 6	
Paid John Hutchinson for prem. £85,000 Insurance procured by him at 2½ guin. p. cent. and 4 policies,	2232	3
	<hr/> 2982 7 0	
Paid Capt. Cornish frat. of £109,825, being the nett sum shipped, at 1 p. cent,	1098	5
For Bills of Lading,		2 6
	<hr/> £4859 16 8	

Of which,

Massach'tts Bay is charg'd with	$\frac{54}{118}$ ths, being	2282 0 2
Connecticut	" $\frac{34}{118}$ ths, "	1098 15 0
New York	" $\frac{14}{118}$ ths, "	633 17 8
New Hampshire	" $\frac{8}{118}$ ths, "	338 1 6
Rhode Island	" $\frac{7}{118}$ ths, "	295 16 4
New Jersey	" $\frac{4}{118}$ ths, "	211 6 0
		£4850 16 8

And each Province is interested in the Insurances in the same proportion.

London, 5th April, 1756.

Errors excepted,

J. HANBURY.

For John Thomlinson BARLOW TRECOTHICK.

Lords of the Treasury to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Rec. 27th July, 1756.]

Sir: You receive inclosed a copy of the King's warrant for paying the £115.000, granted by Parliament to the Colonies of New England New York and New Jersey in America as a free gift and reward for their past services and an encouragement to them to continue to exert themselves in the defence of his Majesty's just rights and possessions; you will see by the warrant the proportion allotted to your Government which Messieurs Thomlinson and Hanbury have shipped on board his Majesty's ship Sterling Castle Captain Cornish of which I acquaint you by order of the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury and am

Sir

Your most humble servant,

Treasury Chambers

J. WEST.

13 May 1756.

Copy of the King's Warrant.

GEORGE R.

Whereas the House of Commons have granted unto us the sum of £115.000 upon account to be distributed to the Colonies of New England, New York and New Jersey, in such proportions as we should think fit, as a free gift and reward for their past services, and an encouragement to them to continue to exert themselves with vigour in defence of our just rights and possessions. And whereas we have thought fit to allot the said sum of £115.000 to the said Colonies in the proportions following, that is to say,

To Massachusetts Bay,.....	£54.000
New Hampshire,.....	8.000
Connecticut,	26.000
Rhode Island,.....	7.000
New York,.....	15.000
New Jersey,.....	5.000
Total,.....	<u>£115.000</u>

And are pleased to direct that the several sums allotted to the Colonies of the Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, New York and New Jersey shall be delivered into the hands of the Governor of each of those Colonies in the presence of the Council, and to be by him forthwith paid over into the hands of the Treasurer of the Province, taking a proper discharge for the same, and sufficient security for the safe custody of such sum, until it shall be disposed of for the publick service by an Act of the Legislature; and that the sums destined for the Charter Governments of Connecticut and Rhode Island shall be consigned to the Governor and Company of each Colony, who are to give a joint receipt for the same, under the publick seal of the Colony. Our will and pleasure therefore is, that out of any the aids or supplies granted unto us for the service of the year 1756, you issue and pay or cause to be issued

and paid unto John Thomlinson and John Hanbury, merchants, or to their assigns the said sum of £115.000, by way of imprest and upon account to be by them paid over, distributed and applied to the several Colonies aforementioned in the foregoing proportions, and agreeable to the directions and restrictions hereinbefore mentioned in that behalf: And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at our Court at St. James's this 3d day of March 1756, in the 29th year of our reign.

By his Maj^{ty}'s command,

HOLLES NEWCASTLE

G. LYTTLETON

H. FURNESE.

To the Commissioners of our Treasury.

Governor Fitch to Secretary Fox.

NORWALK, April 16th, 1756.

Sir: Having received your letter of the 14th November acquainting this government that on the resignation of Sir Thomas Robinson his Majesty has been pleased to confer on you the office of his Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department, I am to signify to you that we shall according to your directions address our letters to you and duly observe such instructions and orders as shall by you be transmitted from his Majesty to us for our guidance and direction, and beg leave to request your kind and friendly offices for the interest of this his Majesty's Colony, whose loyalty and zeal for his service they have given such evident demonstrations of.

I have also received Sir Thomas Robinson's several letters of the 26th July, 28th August, one of the 3d, and two of the 11th November last, and am to acquaint you the General Assembly, to whom I communicated those letters, have a most grateful sense of his Majesty's accept-

ance of their services in the last years campaign, and of the marks of his royal favour and regard which he has been graciously pleased to shew us on this occasion.

Having by former letters given a general representation of what this Colony hath done in the King's service to repel the common danger, and how in all the parts of the last year's operations the inhabitants of this Colony eminently distinguished themselves, I beg leave now to add,

That General Shirley, Commander in Chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America, called a Council of War in New York in December last, consisting of Governors and Field Officers, agreeable to his Majesty's instructions to him, who gave their opinion that an expedition should be carried on this year against Crown Point, and that an army of ten thousand men would be necessary for that service; and as the troops in the immediate pay of the crown were to be employed in an expedition for removing the encroachments of the French on Lake Ontario, General Shirley proposed the Colonies should raise the ten thousand men to go against Crown Point, and for that purpose made out a proportion for every Government, in which he assigned to this the number of one thousand two hundred and fifty, but intimated that if the southern governments failed raising the number assigned them the northern Colonies should augment their proportion. Whereupon the Assembly of this Colony, having received no intelligence from the southern governments of their raising any men for this service, voted to augment their number to twenty-five hundred men, and recommended it to the other New England Governments and New York to add in the same proportion, that by these governments which were engaged in carrying on the expedition last year against Crown Point the same service should be undertaken the current year with ten thousand men. Whether these Governments except Massachusetts and Connecticut will raise the whole proportion is not certain.

This Colony continuing its zeal and resolution for his Majesty's service, and seeing no prospect that this army would be raised unless in and by these northern governments, resolved to exert itself to the utmost on this important occasion.

By these services for our King and country the Colony has brought upon itself a debt, the discharge of which must greatly distress the inhabitants unless they receive some seasonable relief to enable them to get thro' it. We have by reason of the scarcity of money among us been necessitated not only to emit bills of credit to the amount of sixty two thousand pounds lawful money, all payable by taxes at several periods within five year, but also in order to raise and fix out the twenty five hundred men in the present expedition have been obliged, in addition to what could be raised by a large tax on the people, to borrow of General Shirley ten thousand pounds sterling, who has also agreed to furnish us with 2000 stands of arms out of those ten thousand his Majesty has been graciously pleased to send to Boston; all which favours we acknowledge with the highest gratitude.

These parts of his Majesty's service the Colony has undertaken, and is now engaged in with humble reliance and dependance on the royal favour for such assistance as may enable us to go thro' the service, having no means but by further use of our credit to pay the troops we have raised, and being apprehensive to go into further emission of bills must depreciate their value and sink the Colony to that degree that to pay off both principal and interest must be attended with extreme burdens on the people.

The Government therefore humbly hope to be favoured with an enabling sum for the present, without which it appears impracticable to pay the troops raised for the current year, and also to be reimbursed the expences incurred in the common service, that we may be able to pay and discharge the bills of public credit emitted on these import-

ant occasions, which by the interest they carry are continually increasing the load on the Colony. For this purpose the government make their most humble address and petition to his Majesty, which I have by their desire inclosed and am to desire you to lay it before the King and to request your good offices in favour of it, to render the same acceptable.

The importance of these affairs and the necessity we are in of assistance in order to carry on to effect his Majesty's intentions against the common enemy I persuade myself will be a sufficient excuse for this importunity, I shall only add that

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honourable Henry Fox &c.

Address to the King.

[In the possession of one of the Pub. Committee.]

To the King's most excellent Majesty in Council, the humble Address and Petition of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut in New England in America.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects the Governor and Company of your Colony of Connecticut humbly beg leave to render to your Majesty our unfeigned and grateful acknowledgements for your favourable acceptance of our zeal and services in the defence and protection of your just rights and dominions in North America, for those marks of your royal favour and regard which your Majesty has been pleased to condescend to shew and order to be signified to this Colony, and for those gracious encouragements given for our relief and assistance under the

expences incurred in those important services which have been so burdensome to the Government.

We also beg leave to assure your Majesty that as in the last year the inhabitants of this Colony with great spirit and activity exerted themselves for removing the encroachments of the French and in the defence of the country, so they continue steady and unshaken in their zeal and resolution still further vigorously to exert themselves to the utmost of their power and strength therein.

The Assembly of the Colony, may it please your Majesty, has voted and agreed to raise two thousand five hundred men for a like undertaking the current year, to join the forces of the neighbouring governments, great part of which are raised and appear to be animated with resolution to effect the grand design. The necessary preparations for these purposes we are making with all possible dispatch.

The expences arisen and increasing in these services have by reason of the great scarcity of money necessitated the Government to make use of credit by emitting bills to the amount of sixty two thousand pounds proclamation money, payable with interest at five per cent. at several periods within five year, the fund for which are taxes laid on the inhabitants, who unless we are favoured with assistance in ease of those burdels must be greatly straitened.

We humbly beg leave further to represent to your Majesty that we have undertaken so considerable a part of this service under a sense of the necessity and importance of it, and with humble trust and reliance on the favourable encouragements we have received of such supplies in money as may enable us with vigour to pursue the design to effect. Such being the weak state of the Colony that besides what we can collect by a large tax, the Government is obliged to borrow of the Commander in Chief of your Majesty's forces in America ten thousand pounds sterling in order to defray the expence of raising and furnishing the twenty five hundred men for the present

expedition, whose wages we have no means of paying without further emission of bills which we are apprehensive may cause a depreciation of their credit, to the great detriment of the Colony, as well as lay such burdens on the people as may be very distressing.

We therefore beg leave most humbly to implore your Majesty's gracious attention to our insupportable burdens, and that you would be pleased to extend your royal favour and bounty for the alleviation thereof, by granting such supplies of money as may be answerable to the necessity of our present circumstances, and that your Majesty would be graciously pleased to recommend to your Parliament the reimbursement of the residue of our expence incurred and increasing in these services, the accounts of which we beg leave to be permitted hereafter to transmit.

And for your most excellent Majesty your humble petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

In the name and behalf of the Governor and Company
of the Colony of Connecticut,

THOS. FITCH, Govr.

April, 1756.

Secretary Fox to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 27th July, 1756.]

WHITEHALL, 17th May, 1756.

Gentlemen: His Majesty having found it necessary to declare war against the French King, has been pleased, in a Council held this day at Kensington, for that purpose, to sign the inclosed Declaration, and to order that the same should be published tomorrow by the Heralds at Arms, in the usual places and with the accustomed formalities.

I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should cause the said Declaration of War to be proclaimed in the Colony under your Government, that his subjects having this notice, may take care to prevent

any mischief, which otherwise they might suffer from the enemy, and do their duty in their several stations, to distress and annoy the subjects of France; And his Majesty would have you be very vigorous and severe in preventing any ammunition, or stores of any kind, from being carried to them, and you are to use all proper methods that may be most effectual for that purpose.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

H. Fox.

P. S. His Majesty has been pleased to order Letters of Marque or Commissions to Privateers to be granted in the usual manner.

Governor and Company of Connecticut.

Governor Fitch to Secretary Fox.

HARTFORD, 29th May, 1756.

Sir: Having in my letter of the 5th June last to Sir Thomas Robinson, given a general account of the proceedings relating to the Spanish snow St. Joseph and St. Helena and her cargo, put into the port of New London in November 1752, and of the conclusion of that affair, (to which I beg leave to refer,) I supposed I had given a representation entirely satisfactory, yet as it was possible some further discoveries might be made of such parts of the effects as had been embezzled notwithstanding all the vigilance and care of the officers and authority of the government, and being earnestly desirous to afford all possible assistance to the Spaniards that justice might be done to the owners, gave assurance in my letter that nothing in our power should be wanting to see all imaginable justice further done to the said proprietors; and I have accordingly made the strictest enquiry but am not able to discover any of the

effects more than was put into the possession of the Spanish agent by the assistance and vigorous endeavours of the authority of the government and was shipped on board the ship Nebuchadnezzar and transported to Cadiz under convoy of Capt. Whitwell commander of the Triton man of war, but as we have received his Majesty's further commands signified by Sir Thomas Robinson's letter of the 8d November that we should exert ourselves in putting an end to this affair, and the Syren ship of war being ordered to repair to New London to take on board the remainder of the Spanish effects it is become necessary to transmit the inclosed evidences and depositions which I doubt not will give a satisfactory account of the proceedings of the authority of this Government, by *these* it will appear that the Governor and all subordinate officers in authority have exerted themselves according to the utmost of their ability and power to serve the proprietors of that ship and cargo; and as their principal complaint respects the money, (almost all of which they say is detained,) I have sent attested copies of the several orders and receipts thereon for the money, by which it will be evident that the whole of the money put in store was delivered to the Spanish supercargo or agent, Don Joseph Miguel de San Juan, or to his attornies by him fully impowered to receive it; and how the same was disposed of by himself, Mr Lane his attorney, and part lost under the care of Joseph Smith whom the merchant had made commander of the Ship Nebuchadnezzar will fully be discovered by the depositions respecting those matters. The chest containing a quantity of gold indeed was found to have been broken and the gold stolen in the store, upon which all possible endeavours were used to recover it and to convict the transgressors, but a part only thereof could be obtained. Also all such parts of the rest of the cargo and money, which by evil minded persons were stolen or embezzled, that could by the most strict and vigorous enquiry and prosecutions be recovered were ob-

tained and delivered to the agent without cost. These enquiries and legal prosecutions, (some of the copies of which are inclosed as evidence of those proceedings,) were carried on at the public expence, in trover and for the benefit of the proprietors, when the Spanish supercargo had abandoned all care of the effects and refused to be so much as an informer or complainer, or to accept or receive into his care any of the effects, so that in truth it may be said that what of the cargo was kept and saved, and what was recovered from those who by violence had taken away any part, was done without his desire and even contrary to his mind.

You will see, Sir, *these affairs* were transacted and governed by the Court of Vice-admiralty, the Collectors of his Majesty's customs, (not being officers of the government nor under its direction,) and by the several persons employed by them, and by the Spanish merchant and director himself. It happened indeed within the limits of the Government, and therefore the Governor afforded all assistance and protection he could, and the authority exerted themselves in doing justice in every particular as far as it came within their cognizance, they being expressly ordered and directed by the Governor from time to time to do it, and whoever is acquainted with their doings must do them the justice to say they were faithful therein. And had the merchant accepted the direction, assistance and protection offered him by the authority of the government, and not counteracted every salutary method proposed, he might have been dismissed in a short time with small loss and expence.

You will see by the account or manifest of the cargo shipped in the *Nebuchadnezzar* that almost all the effects were saved and delivered to the use of the proprietors, and indeed, considering the hurry the people were in to relieve the vessel when on the reef, and how many were employed for that purpose, the conduct of the Spaniards and other

circumstances, considering also the same was put into divers stores, tho' as well secured as could be on a sudden yet not absolutely secure against the artifices of thieves and housebreakers, likewise the entire neglect of the agent to secure it, and the unfaithfulness of his attornies and the master of the ship, who were his own servants, and the general state of the affair, it must appear wonderful a much greater loss did not ensue; indeed no other reason can be assigned for it but the care, vigilance and endeavours of the Governor and the authority of the Government in a singular and extraordinary manner exerted for the benefit of the proprietors. Yet it was not in their power to controul the Court of Vice-admiralty, nor proper to govern the collector, nor to direct the merchant and director how to use his money when received, nor is it in our power to recover the four chests of money carried by Mr. Lane to New York, where I suppose they now remain, nor to controul the master of the ship the agent had appointed, no further than regarded public order or determining matters that the parties legally brought before the authority.

I persuade myself, Sir, that it will evidently appear that nothing in our power has been wanting to see all imaginable and possible justice done to the proprietors of that cargo, and that tho' nothing further has been recovered, it is not for want of proper endeavours but by reason no more can be found remaining; and therefore, as far as lies within our power we have put an end to this troublesome affair and make no doubt had the owners in Spain been rightly informed by their agent, of the several steps taken, and the care used by the authority of the Government as such, they would, instead of repeating their complaint, rendered their thanks for such extraordinary favour and service.

I beg, Sir, you will be pleased to excuse the prolixity of this letter, and give yourself the trouble to inspect the

evidences, which are more full and particular, and which I flatter myself will be satisfactory to all concerned.

I am, Sir, with the highest esteem

Your most obedient and

most humble servant.

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honourable Henry Fox.

Governor Fitch to the Lords of Trade.

NORWALK, 29th June, 1756.

My Lords: Having omitted to inclose with my letter of the 15th April a list of the shipping in this Colony, referred to in the answer sent in return to the queries received from your secretary, I now inclose it. I have also herewith sent printed copies of the Laws passed in this Colony since the book containing the Statute Laws of the Government which about five or six years ago was transmitted to your Lordships, to which I beg leave to refer for the knowledge of the laws at that time. By that book and the additional acts now sent, your Lordships will see what are the laws now in force in this Government.

In my other letter I acquainted your Lordships this Colony had agreed to raise two thousand five hundred men for his Majesty's service in the expedition against the French encroachments at Crown Point and parts adjacent; I now beg leave to give your Lordships further intelligence of the progress made in that undertaking. The men are now raised and sometime since marched, and as soon as the stores and provisions shall be transported to Lake George, (which are forwarded with dispatch, tho' at a very great expence,) the army will I presume pass the Lake, on which it is probable the case between us and the French at that place will be determined.

For effecting this most important service it was proposed (as I before acquainted your Lordships,) that the army should be ten thousand strong, and for that end General Shirley made out a proportion for each Colony to raise to make up the whole number, in which he conformed to the rule the Commissioners at Albany in 1754 agreed upon. The proportion assigned for this Colony was 1250, but inasmuch as we could have no dependence on the Southern Colonies for raising their quotas the Assembly of this Government, altho' overcharged in their proportion, yet considering the importance of the service and steady in their zeal and resolution to render it effectual if possible, agreed to double the number first proposed for us to raise, and moved the other New England Governments and New York to do the same, and by that means to raise the 10,000 men in these five Colonies and Provinces. Nevertheless the whole number as yet raised for this service falls considerably short of that, and by that means a greater proportion of the whole burden comes on this Colony than was intended, or than can by any acquainted with our number, situation and strength, be so much as desired.

I beg leave to remind your Lordships of my former representation of the zeal and vigor shown by this Government in his Majesty's service, and to repeat my request of your favours to the Colony under their present burdens.

I am, My Lords,

Your Lordships' most obedient and
most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honble. the Lords Commissioners for Trade
and Plantations.

The King's Instruction to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 12th Octob., 1756.]

GEORGE R.

L. S. Additional Instruction to our Trusty and Wellbeloved the Governor and Company of our Colony of Connecticut in New England in America. Given at our Court at Kensington the fifth day of July 1756 in the thirtieth year of our Reign.

Whereas by our Declaration dated the 17th day of May last, we have thought fit to declare War against the French King, his subjects and vassals, and whereas we have been informed that heretofore in times of war our subjects in several of our Colonies and Plantations in America have corresponded with our enemies and supplied them with provisions and warlike stores, whereby our service has been greatly prejudiccd, and the safety of our dominions endangered: It is therefore our express will and pleasure, that you do take the most speedy and effectual measures to hinder all correspondence between any of our subjects inhabiting our Colony of Connecticut under your Government, and the subjects of the said French King, and to prevent any of the Colonies or Plantations belonging to our enemies or other places possessed by them, in America, being supplied, either by land or by sea, from our said Colony under your Government with provisions or warlike stores of any kind.

And in case you shall find it necessary to have an Act passed for the purposes above mentioned, you are earnestly to recommend it in our name to the Legislature of our said Colony to prepare and pass such Act.

G. R.

Governor Fitch to Secretary Fox.

NORWALK, 22d July, 1756.

Sir: Before the receipt of your letters of the 13th of March the Assembly of this Colony had agreed to raise the number of 2500 men including officers, to join the troops of the other Governments for removing the encroachments of the French at Crown Point etc., in confidence the other New England Governments and New York would raise their proportion of 10,000 men which were judged necessary to perform that part of the King's service. The number voted to be raised in this Colony is a full proportion of the whole, and as we judge more than a just quota; but as his Majesty's service requires the exertion of all our strength, and the Government being zealously affected in the common cause, the Assembly were not disposed to enter into any debate about proportion with the other Governments, but rather to excite them by a generous example to serve their King and Country in this critical conjuncture of affairs, therefore have more than doubled the number raised last year for this service, exclusive of the reinforcements raised on a sudden emergency for the relief of the forces then in the field and to push the expedition on to effect if possible.

And as in the last years campaign, the forces from this Colony did about one half of the service occasioned by building forts etc., which both our officers and men universally affirm to be true, tho' it was a much greater proportion than was at first proposed, so in the present undertaking, altho' this Government has raised a fourth part of 10,000 men and have long since sent them forward, yet by reason of deficiencies in other Governments, the whole number of the Provincial forces in this expedition amounts to no more than about seven thousand, which casts more than one third of the burden of the present service on this small Colony.

These troops by the latest accounts are marched to Lake George, their provisions and stores, tho' transported at a very great expence, are in great measure there, the Regulars I am informed are to follow and take the posts the others leave, and to sustain them if needed; therefore it is probable the main point will pretty soon come into dispute.

I beg leave to acquaint you the Colony has a very grateful sense of his Majesty's royal goodness in recommending their case to the consideration of his Parliament, and of the generous grant made by Parliament for our relief under the burdens occasioned by past services and to encourage us for the future, and that as the King has been graciously pleased to manifest his sense and acceptance of our zeal and resolution in his service, so we beg leave to hope that in the distribution of his royal favour the great proportion this Colony bore in the burdens of last year and is now bearing in the present campaign (which is more than one third of the whole sustained by the New England Governments and New York,) will be considered.

You may be assured, Sir, the Colony will endeavour a conformity to his Majesty's intentions in all the particulars mentioned in your letters, according to the utmost of their ability, and you will be pleased to permit me to repeat my requests for some allowance to enable the Government to pay their troops in the fall, as mentioned in my last, to which I beg leave to refer.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient and
most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honourable Henry Fox, etc.

Governor Fitch to Secretary Fox.

NORWALK, 29th Septemb., 1756.

Sir: Your letter of the 17th May inclosing his Majesty's Declaration of War against the French King his subjects and vassals I received in July and forthwith caused the Declaration to be published in the several counties in this Colony, according to the King's pleasure signified in your letter.

Your other letter of the 18th June I laid before the Assembly who have given direction respecting receiving and treating French prisoners that may be set on shore in the Colony upon application of the commander of any of his Majesty's ships of war.

I am further to acquaint you that agreeable to his Majesty's pleasure signified by one of your letters of the 13th March last, respecting restraints for preventing provisions being carried to the French, the Assembly have taken effectual care to oblige the exporters of provisions of every kind to give sufficient security to land all such provisions in some port within his Majesty's dominions and to return a certificate thereof. This regulation is to continue till June next; and I doubt not if the situation of the public affairs then require it, the Assembly will take proper care to continue the same or make such like further provision for that purpose. In the last year care was taken either by embargo or obliging persons to give bonds to land their provisions within his Majesty's dominions, thereby if possible to prevent the French receiving any supplies from this Colony, which has in great measure, so far as we were concerned, proved effectual.

The Assembly, zealous to promote his Majesty's service and as far as may be to prevent his enemies from receiving support from his subjects, have desired me to acquaint you that it is apprehended by them that altho' all proper care should be taken by this and the neighbouring Governments,

yet there is danger the French will be supplied from the West India Islands, and more especially from Ireland by the way of St. Eustatia.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble and most obedient servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Honourable Henry Fox etc.

The King's Additional Instruction respecting Letters of Marque.

[Reprinted from Pennsylvania Archives iii., 8.]

At the Court at Kensington, the 5th day of October, 1756.

PRESENT.

The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

Whereas complaint has been made to his Majesty, by order of the King of Spain, that some of the private ships of war belonging to British subjects have, since the declaration of the present war with France, seized and brought into port certain Spanish ships, without sufficient cause, and contrary to the stipulations of the treaty made between the two crowns in 1667. His Majesty upon consideration thereof, was pleased with the advice of his Privy Council, to direct, that an Additional Instruction should be prepared for his royal signature, in order to put a stop to such practices for the future. And the said Additional Instruction having been accordingly prepared and signed by his Majesty, it is thereupon this day ordered by his Majesty in Council, that copies of the said Additional Instructions be transmitted to the Governors, or Commanders in Chief, of all his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, that his Majesty's pleasure in this behalf may be made known to the commanders of all such ships and vessels as may

have Letters of Marque or Commissions for Private Men of War against France.

W. SHARPE.

GEORGE R.

L. S. An Additional Instruction for the Commanders of all such Ships and Vessels as may have Letters of Marque or Commissions for Private Men of War against the French King, his Vassals and Subjects, or others inhabiting within any of his Countries, Territories, or Dominions. Given at our Court at Kensington, the fifth day of October 1756, in the thirtieth year of our Reign.

Whereas, complaint has been made unto us by order of our good brother the Catholick King, that some of the Private Ships of War belonging to our subjects, have since the declaration of the present war with France, seized and brought into port certain Spanish ships, without sufficient cause, and contrary to the stipulations of the Treaty made between the two Crowns in 1667, we do strictly forbid all commanders of such ships and vessels as may have Letters of Marque, or Commissions for Private Men of War, to molest the persons, or interrupt the navigation of the subjects of the Crown of Spain, or to seize or detain any ships or vessels belonging to them, on any pretence whatever, unless on account of contraband goods and merchandize on board the same. And we do farther enjoin and command all those who may be in any wise herein concerned, to observe all and every part of the Treaty above mentioned, in such manner as to avoid and prevent all disputes with the officers, commanders and subjects of his Catholic Majesty.

By his Majesty's command,

H. FOX.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 4th Jan'y., 1757.]

WHITEHALL, October 9th, 1756.

Gentlemen: It having been represented to his Majesty, that the several Islands and Colonies belonging to the French in America, have, in times of war, been frequently supplied with provisions of various kinds by means of the trade carried on from his Majesty's Islands and Colonies, to the Colonies and settlements belonging to the Dutch and other neutral powers: It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you do forthwith upon the receipt of this order give immediate directions that an embargo be laid, during his Majesty's pleasure, upon all ships and vessels clearing out with provisions from any port or place within your Government, except those which shall be employed in carrying provisions to any other of his Majesty's Colonies and plantations; which ships or vessels are to be allowed to sail from time to time, provided that the masters or owners do, before they are permitted to take any provisions on board, enter into bonds (with two sureties of known residence there and ability to answer the penalty) with the chief officers of the customs of the ports or places from whence such ships or vessels shall set sail, to the value of one thousand pounds, if the ship be of less burthen than one hundred tons, and of the sum of two thousand pounds if above that burthen, that the cargo of such ships or vessels, the particulars of which are to be expressed in the bonds, shall not be landed in any other ports or places than such as belong to his Majesty or are in possession of his subjects, and that they will within twelve months after the date thereof, the danger of the seas excepted, produce certificates, under the hands and seals of the principal officers of the customs at such ports or places for which such ships or vessels cleared out, that the said cargoes, expressing the particulars thereof, have actually been landed there; and when there shall

be cause to suspect that such certificates are false and counterfeit, you shall take especial care that such security be not cancelled or vacated, until you shall have been informed from the said principal officers of the customs, that the matter and contents thereof are just and true; and in case the masters or owners of such ships or vessels shall not produce the said certificates within the times limited, you are to attest the copies of such bonds under your hands and seals, and to cause prosecution thereof, and you are also to give directions that no person be admitted to be security for another who has bonds standing out undischarged, unless he be esteemed responsible for more than the value of such bonds.

And in order the more fully to answer his Majesty's intention of distressing the enemy, and to render his orders herein the more effectual, you are to take care, in case the masters or owners of any ships or vessels having cleared out from the Colony under your Government laden with provisions for any of his Majesty's other Colonies or Islands, shall be detected in causing collusive captures to be made of the cargoes, that the severest penalties be inflicted upon the offenders which the laws will in such case allow of.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servants.

DUNK HALIFAX

ANDREW STONE

JAMES OSWALD.

To the Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Lords of the Treasury to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 10th Feby., 1757.]

Sir: The Paymaster General of his Majesty's forces having by his memorial, laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury, the account of his Deputy

Paymaster in North America, and it appearing thereby, that by order of Mr. Shirley, several sums of money, designed for the use of his Majesty's forces there, have been advanced and paid by his deputies to the Colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, by way of loan, I am directed by their Lordships to acquaint you, that as the publick service in those parts requires an immediate repayment of those sums, their Lordships do expect, that out of the money remitted to you in part of the one hundred and fifteen thousand pounds granted by Parliament, you do take care that the sums lent to your Colony be immediately repaid for the service of the army.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble servant.

J. WEST.

Treasury Chambers,
15th Oct., 1756.

To the Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Received 12th Febr., 1757.]

WHITEHALL, 7th December, 1756.

Gentlemen: The King having been graciously pleased to appoint me to be his Principal Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in the room of Mr. Fox; I am to desire that you would, for the future, address your letters to me, which I shall not fail to lay regularly before his Majesty, and to transmit to you such orders and instructions, as the King shall think proper to give for your guidance and direction.

You will see his Majesty's sentiments on the present situation of publick affairs, expressed in the inclosed most gracious speech with which the King opened the Parliament on Thursday the 2d instant. I also inclose to you

the Addresses which both Houses have since presented in answer thereto.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

P. S. Your letters of July 22d and September 25th have been received.

Govr. and Company of Connecticut.

The King's Additional Instructions to be given to Privateers in the Gulf of Naples.

[In the possession of Learned Hebard, Esq. Endorsed, Recd. 27th Aug., 1757.]

At the Court at St. James's the 11th day of January 1757.

L. S.

PRESENT.

The King's most Excellent Majesty in Council.

His Majesty having been this day pleased to approve of an Additional Instruction, to enjoin the Commanders of all Ships and Vessels, that have, or may have Letters of Marque, or Commissions for Private Men of War, to abstain from any Act of Hostility against the Ships and Subjects of the French King, within the Gulph of Naples during the Present War, Provided that all Privateers, and other French Ships, do, on their Part, strictly observe the Orders that have been given them to the same effect,—It is thereupon Ordered by his Majesty in Council, that a copy of the said Additional Instruction (which is hereunto annexed) be transmitted to the Governors, or Commanders in Chief, of all his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, and also to the Governor, or Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Town and Garrison of Gibraltar, that his Majesty's pleasure, in this behalf, may be made known to the Commanders of all such ships and vessels as have, or

may have Letters of Marque, or Commissions for Private Men of War against France.

W. SHARPE.

GEORGE R.

An Additional Instruction to all Privateers and other ships which may have Letters of Marque against the French King, his vassals or subjects, or others inhabiting within any of his Countries, Territories or Dominions. Given at our Court at St. James's the eleventh day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven, and in the thirtieth year of our reign.

Whereas our good brother the King of the Two Sicilies, has represented to us, that many inconveniencies may arise from hostilities being committed in the Gulph of Naples, by Privateers belonging to either of the powers at war; and that the intercourse and supply of the City of Naples (the Capital of his Dominions, and the place of his royal residence) may be greatly interrupted thereby: His Sicilian Majesty having also communicated to us a copy of the orders which the Court of France have given to the Commanders of their privateers, and other ships, relating to this affair. We being desirous to give all marks in our power, of friendship and regard for the Court of Naples, do hereby strictly enjoin the commanders of all ships and vessels, that have, or may have Letters of Marque, or Commissions for Private Men of War, to abstain from any act of hostility against the ships and subjects of the French King, within the Gulph of Naples, during the present war, provided that all Privateers, and other French ships, do, on their part, strictly observe the orders that have been given them to the same effect.

By his Majesty's command,

W. PITT.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Duplicate, Recd. May 19th, 1757.]

WHITEHALL, Feb. 4th, 1757.

Gentlemen: The King, having nothing more at heart than the preservation of his good subjects and Colonies of North America, has come to a resolution of acting with the greatest vigour in those parts, the ensuing campaign, and all necessary preparations are making for sending a considerable reinforcement of troops, together with a strong squadron of ships, for that purpose, and in order to act offensively against the French in Canada.

It is his Majesty's pleasure, that you should forthwith call together your Council and Assembly, and press them, in the strongest manner, to raise with the utmost expedition, a number of Provincial troops, at least equal to those raised the last year, for the service of the ensuing campaign, over and above what they shall judge necessary for the immediate defence of their own Province; and that the troops so raised do act in such parts, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces for the time being, shall judge most conducive to the service in general:—And the King doubts not, but that the several Provinces, truly sensible of his paternal care in sending so large a force for their security, will exert their utmost endeavours to second and strengthen such offensive operations against the French, as the Earl of Loudoun, or the Commander in Chief for the time being, shall judge expedient; and will not clog the enlistments of the men, or the raising of the money for their pay etc., with such limitations as have been hitherto found to render their service difficult and ineffectual:—And as a further encouragement, I am to acquaint you that the raising of the men, their pay, arms, and cloathing will be all that will be required on the part of the several Provinces, measures having been already taken for laying up magazines of

stores and provisions of all kinds, at the expence of the Crown.

I cannot too strongly recommend it to you, to use all your influence with your Council and Assembly for the punctual and immediate execution of these his Majesty's commands.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Triplicate, Recd. 12th August, 1757.]

WHITEHALL, Feb. 19th, 1757.

Gentlemen: Having in my letter of the 4th inst. informed you, that it was the King's intention to send a strong squadron of ships of war to North America, I am now to acquaint you, that his Majesty has been pleased to appoint Rear Admiral Holburne to command the said squadron, and it is the King's pleasure, that in case any naval assistance shall be wanted for the protection of your Government, you should apply for the same, to the said Rear Admiral, or to the Commander in Chief, for the time being, of his Majesty's ships in those seas, who will send you such assistance, as he may be able to do, consistently with the service, with which he is charged by his Majesty's instructions; and you will regularly communicate to the said commander, all such intelligence, as shall come to your knowledge, concerning the arrival of any ships of war, or vessels having warlike stores, on board, and likewise all such advices, as may concern their motions and destination, or may, in any manner, relate to that part of his Majesty's service, with which the commanders of the King's ships should be acquainted; and for the better execution of the orders sent you, in this letter, you will be diligent in employing proper persons, and vessels, not only to procure

you the earliest intelligence, but likewise to be dispatched, from time to time, to the said commander of his Majesty's ships, with such accounts, as you shall have occasion to communicate to him.

It is also his Majesty's further pleasure that you should use all legal methods, whenever the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships shall apply to you, to raise such a number of seamen, from time to time, as shall be wanted to recruit the ships in North America.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

Govr. and Company of Connecticut.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 12th August, 1757.]

WHITEHALL, March 7th, 1757.

Gentlemen: I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to send you the inclosed Act passed in the present Session of Parliament, intituled "An Act to prohibit for a limited time the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, biscuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon and other victual (except fish and roots and rice to be exported to any part of Europe southward of Cape Finis-terre) from his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in America, unless to Great Britain or Ireland, or to some of the said Colonies and Plantations, and to permit the importation of corn and flour into Great Britain and Ireland in neutral ships; and to allow the exportation of wheat, barley, oats, meal, and flour from Great Britain to the Isle of Man for the use of the inhabitants there;" and am,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN POWNALL.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Earl of Holderness to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 19th July.]

WHITEHALL, May 20th, 1757.

Gentlemen: The inclosed extract of a letter from Vice Admiral Townshend to Mr. Cleveland, together with the affidavits thereunto annexed, will inform you of the piratical behaviour of several privateers, fitted out in North America, towards the Spaniards in the West Indies, particularly of the Peggy of New York, one Hadden, master, and of a privateer from Halifax, commanded by one Snooke.—It was with the greatest indignation that his Majesty received this account of proceedings on the part of his subjects, not only contrary to all humanity and good faith, but to the general instructions given to privateers, and in direct breach of the additional one of the 5th of October last, with regard to Spanish ships; and the King being determined that the most rigorous justice shall be put in execution against such notorious acts of violence, has directed the Governors of New York and Nova Scotia to commence prosecutions against the owners, masters, and securities of the two privateers above mentioned; and it is his Majesty's pleasure, in case either or both of them shall put into any port within your Government, that you do cause them to be detained, giving immediate notice to the Gov. of New York of the arrival and detention of the Peggy, Hadden master; and of that from Halifax, commanded by Snooke, to Gov. Lawrence, in order that they may send you such directions thereupon as they shall judge most expedient for the execution of the King's commands, signified to them upon this occasion.

Tho' the Additional Instruction abovementioned, of the 5 of Oct. last, has been already transmitted to you from the Council Office, I send you herewith some printed copies thereof, and am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you be particularly careful, not only to deliver the

same to all persons who shall hereafter take out commissions for privateers, but also that, whenever any privateers come to the ports in your Government, you do make enquiry whether they have already received the said instruction; and, in case you have reason to think they have not, you will cause a copy thereof to be delivered to the commanders of such privateers, and, at the same time, acquaint them that the king is determined to require the most exact obedience thereto, and that the severest prosecutions will be carried on against those who shall, in any manner, act contrary to the same, and thereby endanger that harmony which his Majesty is so desirous to preserve with the Court of Spain.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HOLDERNESSE.

Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

WHITEHALL, June 3d, 1757.

Gentlemen: I am directed by the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations to send you the inclosed copy of Resolutions of the House of Commons of the 23d May last, upon certain Resolutions of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, on the 29 of October, 1753, to the end that his Majesty's subjects in the Province under your Government may be fully apprized of the sense of that House upon such extraordinary claims.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

JOHN POWNALL.

[Endorsed, Recd. 14th September, 1757.]

Copy of resolutions of the House of Commons of the 23d of May, 1757, upon certain Resolutions of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica on the 29th of October, 1753.

The order of the day being read for receiving the Report from the Committee of the whole House, to whom it was referred to consider further of the several papers which were presented to the House upon the 18th and 24th days of February and the 17th day of March, in the last session of Parliament, relating to the then Governor, Council and Assembly of Jamaica, and of the other papers referred to the said Committee;

Mr. Thomas Gore accordingly reported from the said Committee the Resolutions, which the Committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and afterwards delivered in at the table, where the same were read, and are as followeth, vizt.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the Resolution of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, contained in the minutes of the said Assembly of the 29th day of October 1753, in the words following, vizt. "Resolved, that it is the inherent and undoubted right of the Representatives of the People to raise and apply monies for the service and exigencies of Government, and to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing thereof as they shall think proper; which rights this House hath exerted, and will always exert, in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to the service of his Majesty, and the interest of his people," so far as the same imports a claim of right in the said Assembly to raise and apply publick money without the consent of the Governor and Council, is illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown and People of Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the claim in the said Resolution of a right in the Assembly to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing of public money as the said Assembly shall think

proper, is illegal, unconstitutional, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown of Great Britain.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this Committee, that the six last Resolutions of the Assembly of Jamaica of the 29th day of October 1753, proceeded upon a manifest misapprehension of his Majesty's instruction to his Governor, requiring him not to give his assent to any bill of an unusual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his Majesty's prerogative or property of his subjects may be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of this kingdom any ways affected, unless there be a clause inserted, suspending the execution of such bill, until his Majesty's pleasure shall be known; and that such instruction is just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of that Island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of his subjects there.

The first Resolution of the Committee, being read a second time, was, with an amendment thereto, agreed to by the House, and is as followeth, vizt.

Resolved, That the Resolution of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, contained in the minutes of the said Assembly of the 29th day of October 1753, in the words following, vizt. "Resolved, that it is the inherent and undoubted right of the Representatives of the People to raise and apply monies for the service and exigencies of Government, and to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing thereof as they shall think proper; which rights this House hath exerted, and will always exert, in such manner as they shall judge most conducive to the service of his Majesty, and the interest of his people," so far as the same imports a claim of right in the said Assembly to raise and apply public money without the consent of the Governor and Council, is illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his Governor, of the said Island, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown and people of Great Britain.

The second Resolution of the Committee being read a second time, an amendment was made thereunto by the House.

The House was moved, that the entries in the journal of the House of the 21st and 23d days of December 1678, of the proceedings of the House in relation to the bill for

granting a supply to his Majesty for paying off and disbanding the forces, might be read. And the same were read accordingly.

Then the said Resolution, so amended, was agreed to by the House, and is as followeth, vizt.

Resolved, That the claim in the said Resolution of a right in the Assembly to appoint such person or persons for the receiving and issuing of public money, as the said Assembly shall think proper, is illegal, repugnant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his Governor of the said Island, and derogatory of the rights of the Crown of Great Britain.

The last Resolution of the Committee, being read a second time, was agreed to by the House.

Lords of Trade to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 14th Sept., 1757.]

WHITEHALL, June 9th, 1757.

Gentlemen: His Majesty having, in pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of the 25th of last month, commanded us to lay before that House in the next session of Parliament an account of the quantity of iron made in his Majesty's Colonies in America from Christmas 1749 to 5 January 1756, distinguishing each year; we desire you will, forthwith upon the receipt of this letter, take the proper and most effectual method for obtaining the said account so far as relates to the Colony under your Government, and transmit the same to us with all possible expedition.

We are, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servants,

DUNK HALIFAX,

JAMES OSWALD,

W. G. HAMILTON,

W. SLOPER,

SOAME JENYNS.

Governor and Company of Connecticut.

Governor Fitch to the Lords of Trade.

NORWALK, 22d July, 1757.

My Lords: Having on the 6th of this month received Mr. Pownall your secretary's letter of the 7th of March with the inclosed printed copy of the Act of Parliament intituled an Act to prohibit for a limited time the exportation of corn, grain, meal etc., I forthwith ordered it to be reprinted and distributed among the inhabitants of the Government for their guidance and direction, and shall so far as relates to this Colony carefully endeavour that it shall be punctually observed.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint your Lordships that agreeable to your former directions the Assembly had taken care to cause a prohibition to be laid upon the exportation of provisions, or the lading them on board any vessel for transportation, until sufficient security be given that all such provisions as should be put on board for that purpose should bona fide be landed in some part of his Majesty's dominions, and that certificates thereof should be returned from the proper officers of the ports where landed, otherwise the bonds are to be forfeited and prosecuted; which method I conclude did in a great measure answer and comport with the intention of the aforesaid Act of Parliament.

Having in my letter of the 11th April acquainted your Lordships that the Assembly had undertaken and accordingly had raised fourteen hundred men for the service of the current year, I beg leave further to acquaint you that they are now employed in his Majesty's service under the command of the Earl of Loudoun, and that by means of those repeated services which so effectually exhaust all the supplies the Government can possibly make, either by payment or credit, that we are obliged to suffer our ports and sea coasts etc., to remain much in the same state and condition as mentioned in our letter to your Lordships, of the

30th of March 1756, to which for a particular account of the circumstances thereof I beg leave to refer.

I am, My Lords, Your Lordships' most obedient
and most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Right Hon., the Lords Comrs. for Trade and Plantations.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Endorsed, Recd. 22d January, 1758.]

WHITEHALL, 16th Sept., 1757.

Gentlemen: Mons. d'Abreu Envoy Extraordinary from his Catholick Majesty, having lately delivered divers complaints of violences and depredations, (particularly mentioned in the inclosed paper) committed by his Majesty's subjects in America, against those of Spain; I am to inform you that the King seeing with the highest disapprobation the daily growth of such scandalous disorders, and having nothing more at heart than to stop the progress of practices which, if not repressed, must involve his Majesty in odious disputes with all the neutral powers of Europe, is determined to exert the full authority of the law, in vindication of the justice of his Crown and of the honor of the British Nation; and in this view, I am hereby to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do enforce with the utmost vigor the observance of the Additional Instruction of October the 5th, to all privateers, and employ uncommon care and diligence effectually to prevent and, if possible, to cut up by the roots, all excesses and enormities alledged to be committed in violation of the just freedom of navigation of his Catholick Majesty's subjects; And whereas with regard to all Spanish vessels, bound to a port of Spain in America, the case of contraband cannot exist, it being self evident that no effects whatever carried by a nation to its own ports can, in any case, fall under that description, it is

his Majesty's pleasure, that you do give the strictest orders, that no Spanish ship under those circumstances be disturbed or molested in their navigation, and that in case of outrages or depredations committed on the same, you do your utmost to discover all such violaters of justice and disturbers of the harmony subsisting between the two nations, and to bring the same to condign and exemplary punishment.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

P. S. I have received Mr. Fitch's letter of March 8th. Gov. and Company of Connecticut.

Governor Fitch to the Earl of Holderness.

NORWALK, 17th November, 1757.

My Lord: As the news of the surrendry of Fort William Henry to the French on the 9th August last must have been received, or will be long before this letter arrives, and as questions may arise concerning the aid afforded by the Governments in these parts for the succour and relief of that fortress against the enemy, I apprehend it my duty to represent the measures taken and the vigorous attempts made by the Colony of Connecticut for that purpose.

Having, in my letter of the 20th July, given your Lordship an account of the orders of the Assembly made in pursuance of the Earl of Loudoun's proposals for having the militia of the Government furnished with arms and ammunition and to be in constant readiness upon the shortest notice to march to the assistance, succour and relief, of such fort, town or place, as should be attacked, or in danger of being attacked, by the enemy, I am now further to acquaint you that those orders being attended, the militia was put under a standing order to march in whole or in part, as there should be occasion

on any sudden emergency, of which I gave Major General Webb notice.

That on the 5th of August I received a letter from him dated Fort Edward, July 30th 1757, wherein he signified to me that the exigency of affairs from the motion of the enemy with a large army towards those parts and the weakening of the Provincial regiments occasioned by death, sickness and other casualties, requiring the immediate reinforcement of the quotas each province was to furnish, upon his application; therefore requested such additional numbers might be ordered to march forthwith to Albany; on the same day I dispatched orders for eleven hundred men, (being the number I understood him to intend,) to be forthwith detached out of the militia nearest to Albany, and to march to his assistance, which being forthwith done, the men were in general on their march from the several parts in less than eight and forty hours.

That on the 6th of the month I received another letter from Capt. Christie, Quarter Master, etc., dated at Albany the 4th of August, giving me the intelligence of the Fort's being invested by the enemy on the 3d day of the month, two days before I received Mr. Webb's letter acquainting me of the motion of the enemy.

On receiving Capt. Christie's letter, wherein he requested all the assistance that could possibly be sent, I with the utmost dispatch gave out orders for one fourth part of the militia of the whole Government, and one half of one of our largest regiments nearest Albany, including those ordered the day before, to be forthwith drafted and to march to the relief of the Fort then attacked.

That in pursuance of those orders the men were detached and sent forward, mostly on horseback, with uncommon dispatch, (some troops of horse and some volunteers accompanied them,) carrying their own provisions. But notwithstanding all these endeavours and vigorous attempts, and the great expence occasioned thereby, (which by the best

computation amounts to twelve or fifteen thousand pounds,) it was not possible for them to afford the relief proposed, inasmuch as while we were exerting ourselves in so extraordinary a manner and proportion the Fort was surrendered and all our expectations frustrated.

Had the Fort held out about ten days, and if the other Governments sent men in proportion to this, the reinforcement could not have fallen much if any thing short of being twenty thousand strong, and according to human appearance must have been abundantly sufficient either to have vanquished or drove the enemy off.

Our militia having arrived, some to Fort Edward, some to the parts on the river below, remained there ready to obey such orders as should be given them by the Commander in Chief, until the enemy being drawn off Major General Webb gave them leave to return home, and accordingly they came off in a regular and orderly manner.

As I have not been particularly informed what numbers the other Governments sent out on this occasion, I would not be understood to say any thing to their prejudice, but believe on the whole no one exerted itself in this part of his Majesty's service beyond the Colony of Connecticut.

Thus, My Lord, having given you a brief narrative of certain facts, shall make no remarks on this unhappy affair, but only that it must appear clear and evident the loss of that fortress was in no measure or degree owing to any neglect or delay of this Colony, which could not have done more than it did to save it, and that we humbly hope our service in this particular may be acceptable to our most gracious Sovereign.

I am, My Lord, with the highest esteem,

Your Lordship's most obedient

and most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Earl of Holderness.

Governor Fitch to the Lords of Trade.

NORWALK, 18th November, 1757.

My Lords: In obedience to your Lordships' commands signified in your letter of the 9th June, I took the first opportunity to make enquiry concerning the quantity of iron made in the Colony of Connecticut, and by the report of a committee appointed by the Assembly for that purpose, it appears on the best information they could get, that from Christmas in 1749 to the 5th January 1756, there has been annually during that term about one hundred and twenty tons of bar iron made in this Colony.

Some of this iron is made out of pigs, and others wrought from the ore without being first cast into pigs. The proportion of each sort I am not able to ascertain.

I have received Mr. Pownall's letter of the 8d of June, with the inclosed copy of Resolutions of the House of Commons upon certain Resolutions of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, and communicated the same to the Assembly of this Colony, that they might be fully apprized of the sense of that House in such extraordinary claims.

I am, My Lords, Your Lordships'

most obedient and most humble servant,

THOS. FITCH.

The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[In the possession of Hon. Wm. L. Storrs. Endorsed, Recd. 6th March, 1758.]

WHITEHALL, 30th December, 1757.

Gentlemen: The King having judged proper, that the Earl of Loudoun should return to England, and his Majesty having been pleased to appoint Major General Abercromby to succeed his Lordship, as Commander in

Chief of the King's forces in North America, with the same powers and authorities; I am commanded to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do apply to and correspond with Major General Abercromby on all matters relating to the King's service; and that you do obey such orders as you shall receive from him, in the same manner as you were directed to do with regard to the several former Commanders in Chief in North America; and you will from time to time give Mr. Abercromby all the assistance and lights in your power, in all matters relative to the command with which the King has honored him.

And I am particularly to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that in case Major General Abercromby, or the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces, shall at any time apply to you to lay an embargo on all ships within your Colony, you do strictly comply with the said request, for so long a time as the Commander in Chief shall desire.

The King having resolved to send a considerable squadron of Ships of War the ensuing year, to North America; I am further to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do, from time to time, transmit to the Commander in Chief of the King's ships in North America, all intelligence relative to his Department, in the same manner as you were directed to do, by my letter of the 19th of February last, to Vice Admiral Holburn; and it is also the King's pleasure, that you do, on any application from the Commander in Chief of the King's Ships, use all legal methods to supply him with such a number of sailors and workmen from your Colony as he shall at any time require for his Majesty's service.

I am, Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

W. PITT.

Govr. and Company of Connecticut.

Secretary Pitt to the Governor of Connecticut.

[Reprinted from Documents relating to Col. Hist. of N. Y., VII., 339.]

WHITEHALL, Decr. 30th, 1757.

Gentlemen: His Majesty having nothing more at heart than to repair the losses and disappointments of the last inactive and unhappy campaign, and by the most vigorous and extensive efforts to avert, by the blessing of God on his arms, the dangers impending on North America; and not doubting that all his faithful and brave subjects there will cheerfully cooperate with and second to the utmost the large expence and extraordinary succours supplied by this kingdom for their preservation and defence, and his Majesty considering that several provinces in particular, from proximity and accessibility of situation, more immediately obnoxious to the main irruptions of the enemy from Canada, are, of themselves, well able to furnish at least twenty thousand men, to join a body of the King's forces for invading Canada, by the way of Crown Point, and carrying war into the heart of the enemy's possessions; and his Majesty not judging it expedient to limit the zeal and ardor of any of his Provinces by making a repartition of the force to be raised by each respectively, for this most important service; I am commanded to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you do, forthwith, use your utmost endeavours and influence with the Council and Assembly of your Province, to induce them to raise, with all possible dispatch, as large a body of men, within your Government, as the number of its inhabitants may allow, and, forming the same into regiments, as far as shall be found convenient, that you do direct them to hold themselves in readiness, as early as may be, to march to the rendezvous at Albany, or such other place as his Majesty's Commander in Chief in America shall appoint, in order to proceed from thence, in conjunction with a body of the King's British forces, and under the supreme

command of his Majesty's said Commander in Chief in America, so as to be in a situation to begin the operations of the campaign by the 1st of May, if possible, or as soon after as shall be any way practicable by attempting to make an irruption into Canada, as above, by the way of Crown Point, and, if found practicable, to attack either Montreal, or Quebec, or both of the said places, successively, with the whole force in one body, or at one and the same time, by a division of the troops into separate and distinct operations, according as his Majesty's said Commander in Chief shall, from his knowledge of the countries thro' which the war is to be carried, and from emergent circumstances, not to be known here, judge any of the said attempts to be practicable, and the better to facilitate this important service, the King is pleased to leave it to you to issue commissions to such gentlemen of your Province as you shall judge, from their weight and credit with the people, and their zeal for the public service, may be best disposed and enabled to quicken and effectuate the speedy levying of the greatest number of men; in the dispositions of which commissions, I am persuaded you will have nothing in view but the good of the King's service, and a due subordination of the whole, when joined, to his Majesty's Commander in Chief; and all officers of the Provincial forces, as high as colonels inclusive, are to have rank according to their several respective commissions, in like manner as is already given, by his Majesty's regulations, to the captains of Provincial troops in America.

The King is further pleased to furnish all the men, so raised, as above, with arms, ammunition and tents, as well as to order provisions to be issued to the same by his Majesty's commissaries, in the same proportion and manner as is done to the rest of the King's forces; a sufficient train of artillery will also be provided, at his Majesty's expence, for the operations of the campaign, and the ship that conveys this carries orders for timely providing

at the King's charge, with the utmost diligence and in an ample manner, boats and vessels, necessary for the transportation of the army on this expedition. The whole therefore that his Majesty expects and requires from the several provinces, is, the levying, cloathing and pay of the men; and on these heads also, that no encouragement may be wanting to this great and salutary attempt, the King is further most graciously pleased to permit me to acquaint you that strong recommendations will be made to Parliament, in their session next year, to grant a proper compensation for such expences as above, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the respective Provinces shall justly appear to merit.

Altho' several thousand stands of arms will be forthwith sent from England, to be distributed to the troops now directed to be raised in the northern and southern Provinces, yet, as it is hoped that the numbers of men levied in all parts of America may greatly exceed the quantity of arms that can at present be supplied from England, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do, with particular diligence, immediately collect and put into the best condition, all the serviceable arms that can be found within your Government, in order that the same may be employed, as far as they will go, in this exigency.

I am further to inform you, that similar orders are sent, by this conveyance, to Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New York, and New Jersey, the southern governments are also directed to raise men in the same manner, to be employed in such offensive operations, as the circumstances and situation of the enemy's posts in those parts may point out, which, it is hoped, will oblige them so to divide their attention and forces as will render the several attempts more easy and successful.

It is unnecessary to add any thing to animate your zeal in the execution of his Majesty's orders on this great occasion, where the safety and preservation of America

382 CORRESPONDENCE WITH BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

are at stake; and the King doubts not, from your known fidelity and attachment, that you will employ yourself with the utmost application and despatch in this urgent and dangerous crisis. Altho' the knowledge of an intention to invade Canada is apprehended to be not only unattended with any inconvenience, but necessary to be propagated in the Provinces, in order to give success to the levies, yet, as secresy in all enterprizes on particular places is of the greatest importance, the King is persuaded that you will use all proper discretion in communicating, by name, any of the immediate objects before pointed out, further, than to such persons to whom it may be necessary for the good of the service confidentially to intrust the same.

I am etc.

W. PITT.



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